



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

LB
2901
.K23

A 442491





LETTER

TO

EARL GRANVILLE, K. G.,

ON THE

REVISED CODE

OF REGULATIONS CONTAINED IN THE MINUTE OF THE
COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
DATED JULY 29TH, 1861.

BY

SIR JAMES KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, BART.

LONDON:

SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 65, CORNHILL.

1861.



LB

2901

1K23

LETTER.

38, GLOUCESTER SQUARE, HYDE PARK,
November 4, 1861.

MY LORD,

I had the honour to address to you a letter soon after the appearance of the Report of the Royal Commission, on the 24th April, 1861.

That letter was confined to those practical recommendations of the Commissioners which affected the administration of aid from "the Parliamentary Grant." The period when the annual grant would come under the consideration of Parliament was not remote, and the direct bearing of those recommendations on the financial arrangements to be then discussed appeared to justify immediate comment. I had no doubt whatever that in doing this, I was loyally aiding the Committee of Council in disposing of impracticable suggestions.

Other parts of that Report were left without comment. Almost all the Managers of Training Colleges and Elementary Schools, in common with the most experienced Principals and Teachers, regretted that they were compelled to differ from the Commissioners, both on questions of fact, and on principles

Letter of April
1861, on Report
of the Royal
Commission.

so critical, that on them hinged the plan which the Commissioners proposed.

confidence of the
at Education
eties in Com-
tee of Council
Education
ouraged by the
ech of the
a-President in
liament.

The Committees of the Great Education Societies of the Religious Communions had confidence that nothing would be done by the Committee of Council on Education materially to derange, much less to subvert, the system which they had been encouraged by the Government to build up. On the 11th of July the Vice-President confirmed this confidence "on moving the Education Estimate," when he said (p. 11.)—"If we have spent £4,800,000. in educating the people, "private liberality has spent double that sum. In fact, the "opinion as to what system of Education is to prevail, will be "regulated by the opinion of those whose hands maintain it:" Also, when he prefaced his statement of "the outline of the "minute " with the "assurance that the Committee need not "be afraid that we contemplate any *coup d'état*:" (p. 25.) And again, when he said—"We think it would be rash and "imprudent to sweep away a machinery which has been constructed with great labour, care, and dexterity,—which, "although it may be complicated and difficult to work, has "answered many of the purposes for which it was designed,— "in order to substitute the new and untried plan of trusting "merely to the results of examination." (p. 27.)

ources of this
fidence.

Those who bore in mind the fierce conflicts which had defeated every attempt to found National Education on any other basis, and had observed that the churches and congregations had been at length weaned from a jealousy of the interference of the State, rejoiced in the prospect of the maintenance of this harmony. Gradually the limits of the authority of the several boards of education, the managers of schools, the inspectors, the teachers, and the Committee of Council on Education had been defined.

beneficial
ults.

The several Education societies contributed invaluable services, and two-thirds of the permanent outlay in founding schools, as well as of the annual expense of supporting them. The Committee of Council appeared to think that they had

made a good bargain for the civil government, in stimulating, by such an outlay, the production of so large an income—and the good management of schools. The money paid by Parliament rose to £750,000., but represented an annual outlay of more than two millions of money, the rest of which was derived from private and local sources.

The annual out of two millions education of p purchased at a cost to the State of £750,000.

The "Revised Code" has been so interpreted by the managers and teachers of schools as to produce a conviction that it would destroy the existing system. I think it right faithfully to record their impressions. They say that the Code at once abrogates the principles on which the Parliamentary grant has hitherto been administered; for it condemns the method of examining results in the education of the pupil teachers, Queen's scholars, and students in training colleges, pursued in the present mode of the inspection of the teachers' work in their schools, as well as the tests hitherto applied to the proficiency of the children. It abolishes the plan of paying for the efficiency of the machinery in the schools, subject to satisfaction with the state of the instruction. It releases the teacher from all direct obligation to the State, and at the same time renders his income much more uncertain and insecure. It cuts off about two-fifths of the annual grants of elementary schools. The abruptness of this change shakes the confidence of the managers of 7,500 inspected schools in the Committee of Council on Education, for it requires them in one year to raise £175,000. in addition to their present resources, or to cut down to the extent, in which they fail to do this, the machinery of their schools.

Managers and Teachers of Schools think that "Revised Code" would destroy existing system. Grounds of this opinion.

Injurious consequences to Schools, Managers, Training Colleges, Queen's Scholars, Pupil Teachers and Teachers.

Contrary to the recommendations of the Royal Commissioners, it lops off one-fourth of the income of the training colleges. Their Principals declare that it further discourages them by making it certain that they will be supplied by quite an inferior class of Queen's scholars—for the Code, contrary to all experience as to their sufficiency, apparently reduces the average stipend* and the time for the instruction of pupil

* Revised Code, Clause 47 (b).

Reduction of
period of training
of Certificated
Teachers would
close half the
Colleges.

Declaration of
Gentlemen
connected with all
the Great
Education
Societies, &c.

The grounds on
which the
"Revised Code" is
vindicated by its
advocates.

teachers one-third. It proposes to mix them with evening scholars—for the most part rough youths learning only the humblest elements, when the instruction of the pupil teachers would be rendered almost if not quite impracticable. It renders their prospects less encouraging, by throwing the teacher's support wholly on the managers, at a time when one-third of the manager's school-income is made extremely uncertain, and on the average reduced two-fifths. It renders the literary certificate purely honorary, and thus removes the chief motive for remaining two years in the training colleges. Under these circumstances one half the training colleges would be closed, though built with direct encouragement from the Government not exceeding one-third their cost, at a large expense to their founders.

The effect of these changes would, in the opinion of the official representatives "of the National and Church of England Education Societies; the British and Foreign, and "Home and Colonial School Societies; the Wesleyan Education Committee; and of the Principals of the Metropolitan "Training Colleges, assembled on the 10th of October," be, "*to introduce into elementary schools a lower class of teachers, "and to degrade the instruction in the schools."*

I trust your Lordship will permit me to submit to the Committee of Council the reasons why the promoters of schools are of opinion that this Revised Code is impracticable, without pulverizing the existing system—and destroying the connection of the Government with elementary education.

The vindication of the Revised Code *is based on the denial that the existing system secures adequate results.* By implication it attributes this alleged failure *to a misdirection of effort.* The teachers are too highly instructed,—they are above their work,—their daily instruction as apprentices and their residence in college must be shortened,—their education must be lowered to the level of their work,—that level is the teaching

of reading, writing, and arithmetic, to scholars early absorbed by labour in agriculture or manufactures. This work ought to be done before eleven. No working man's child need be paid for after that age. The teachers have been mischievously pampered and protected. "Hitherto," says the Vice-President, "we have been living under a system of bounties and protection; now we prefer to have a little free trade." (p. 31.) The teachers must, like corn and cotton, be subject to the law of supply and demand. They and the managers must make the best bargains they can. The school managers must be paid only for work done. It is quite easy to test the work their teachers do, by examining every scholar in those elements which alone are the care of the State. If a fair proportion of the scholars learn to read, write, and cipher before they are eleven years old, nothing else is wanted. But to accomplish this,—whatever has been the age at which a child first entered school,—whatever his home training, capacity, or the comparative regularity of his school attendance,—any school which takes charge of him must either do so without State aid, or must by some art lift him up to a fixed standard of attainment, to be required between the ages, respectively, of 3 to 7,—7 and 9,—9 and 11, and 11 upwards. If he know more and can do more than is required at his age by this standard, he must be examined among those who are less proficient than himself.

The remedy devised in the Code for the defects of the existing system may be thus defined :—

The most certain way in which to secure the only results which are the legitimate concern of the State in elementary schools, is to examine each scholar in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and pay the managers a certain sum per head for each school attendance of every scholar who can pass an examination in each of these three elements, according to a standard of attainment to be required at fixed periods of age, and other conditions set forth in the Code.

Formula, embodying a definition of the principle of the Capitation Grants which, in the Revised Code, to displace the present Annual Grants to Schools.

at are the
ults of
mentary
cation hitherto
ined.

As respects the foregoing vindication of the Code, as far as it is grounded on the alleged inadequacy of the results obtained under the existing system, the promoters of education maintain that they have, under all the difficulties with which they have had to struggle, produced so large an amount of the only results which were attainable in the time during which they have been at work, that they base the vindication of the existing system on those results.

al
ommissioners'
utation.

ly of
retaries of the
ional British
Foreign and
Wesleyan
eties.

The Royal Commissioners, however, cast a shadow of doubt on the public satisfaction with the progress of elementary education, by giving great prominence in this respect to the alleged failure of a large part of the scholars to read, write, and cipher. Archdeacon Sinclair, the Treasurer of the National Society, replies that "in respect to National Schools in particular, it appears from the reports of the Queen's Inspectors for the year 1860-61, that of schools under certificated teachers, the per centage reported to have been 'instructed 'excellently,' 'well,' or 'fairly,' was, in reading, '86.2; in writing, 87.9; and in arithmetic, 80.'" The British and Foreign and Wesleyan Education Committee reply in like manner.

I throw into a note the results reported by the Inspectors of Schools, as recorded by the Committee of Council for 1860-61, and extracts from the Inspectors' reports, for which I am indebted to Mr. J. Langton. *

* Opening her Majesty's Inspectors' reports for 1860-61, we find in table No. 2, page 7, the following "results of inspection:"—7,894 schools were visited between 1st September, 1859, and 31st August, 1860.

In 7,508 schools *Reading* is the subject of a report, and in 6,679 of these, or about 89 per cent., it is taught excellently, well, or fairly; in 813 schools, or less than 11 per cent., it is taught moderately; and in 16 schools, or about $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., it is taught imperfectly or badly.

In 7,486 schools *Writing* is the subject of a report; and in 6,782 of these, or nearly 91 per cent., it is taught excellently, well, or fairly; in 690 schools, or a little more than 9 per cent., it is taught moderately; and in 14 schools, or not one-fifth per cent., it is taught imperfectly or badly.

The Committees of the great Educational societies would not, however, be content to leave the question on this issue. They would say—

1. That the obstacles to the production of the results contemplated in the Report of the Commissioners in teaching

Reply of the Great Educational Societies.
Obstacles to certain results insurmountable hitherto.

In 7,459 schools *Arithmetic* is the subject of a report; and in 6,235 of these, or more than 83½ per cent., it is taught excellently, well, or fairly; in 1,115 schools, or nearly 15 per cent., it is taught moderately; and in 109 schools, or not quite 1½ per cent., it is taught imperfectly or badly.

Thus, we see, that out of every 400 schools receiving Government aid, only one of them deserves blame for teaching reading imperfectly; out of every 500 schools only one deserves censure for teaching writing imperfectly; and out of every 200 schools only three deserve blame for teaching arithmetic imperfectly.

There is surely no proof here of neglect of duty, or of failing to teach the lower branches of elementary education.

But what say her Majesty's Inspectors on these matters in their reports for 1860-61?

Mr. FUSSELL, p. 19.—“Arithmetic is fairly taught, and the average proficiency of the children in this subject, and their intelligent apprehension of its principles, are by no means unsatisfactory.”

Mr. BELLAIRS, p. 26.—“With regard to the certificated teacher, I am glad to report a general efficiency and a right discharge of duty.”

Mr. WATKINS, p. 40.—“There is, as was the case last year, good reason to be satisfied with the progress of school children in the subjects of their instruction, and especially in the elementary and more important subjects.” And again, in p. 41.—“There is no greater mistake than to assert that certified schoolmistresses are either unwilling or unable to teach needlework, or that they lead their scholars to undervalue it as a necessary part of a woman's duty.”

Mr. MITCHELL, p. 61.—“I am happy to be able to report in most schools a great improvement, and that now generally in all schools under inspection, a sound and real education is given to the scholars.”

Mr. BROOKFIELD, p. 84, speaking of girls' schools says,—“The moral rectitude by which they are characterised, gives evidence of their being placed under an habitual influence incalculably more important than any intellectual qualifications, and entitles our schoolmistresses to be pronounced one of the most praiseworthy and valuable classes of the community.”

reading, writing, and ciphering well, to three-fifths of the scholars, have been hitherto insurmountable.

Mr. KENNEDY, p. 95.—“As regards the character and qualifications of teachers, there is, on the whole, I find, great reason to be satisfied. From what we see, and what we learn from school managers, they are in most cases both equal to their duties and faithful in the discharge of them.” Again, p. 96.—“I think I see a decided tendency ever going on to stick to what may perhaps be called necessary subjects.” “By necessary subjects, I mean reading, writing, spelling, religious knowledge, and arithmetic; and, in girls’ schools, needlework. P. 97.—“On the whole, my impression is that reading, writing, spelling (dictation), and arithmetic are more successfully taught than they were some years ago.”

Mr. STEWART, p. 121.—“The Parliamentary grant has been applied according to its intention, and done its work well.” It has “placed within reach of the working population what never could have been supplied without it—a sound, although plain, education for their children.” “I do not refer to the extent or variety of their studies, but to their knowledge of a few elementary subjects—to the honesty with which their work is done, and to that indescribable influence on the general character which every earnest teacher exerts for good.”

Mr. MONCREIFF, p. 130.—“My general impression is, that our trained teachers, as a body, are doing sound work, which needs not fear the closest examination.”

Dr. MORELL, p. 154, 155.—“Bad schools, with imperfect apparatus and miserable discipline, have *wholly disappeared* from the schedules.” “The regular rise which has been already experienced in” the standard of intelligence “during the last ten years encourages the hope that the tendency will still be to go higher and higher for the future.”

Mr. BOWSTEAD, p. 162.—“Penmanship is the subject which is best taught.” “I was enabled to report it as being either excellent, or good, or at least, fair, in 137 out of 140 juvenile schools, in which it was specially noticed. Reading stands second in the list of subjects taught, being at least fair in 134 out of 140 schools; but I cannot affirm that there is much really excellent reading in the schools which I visit. Arithmetic ranks third, and is fairly taught in 131 out of 140 schools. Thus the three indispensable elements of education—reading, writing, and arithmetic, evidently receive, as they ought to do, the largest share of attention, and are most successfully inculcated.”

Mr. ALDERSON, p. 176.—“The general review of the schools visited during the past year shows a satisfactory result as regards elementary instruction. Out of 176 schools, the reading in 174, and the writing

2. That satisfactory results have been obtained—

Satisfactory
results obtained

- (a) In building and founding schools.
- (b) In getting rid of brutish incapacity to learn, gross habits, heathenism, and barbarism in their scholars, notwithstanding frequent migration, extreme irregularity of attendance at school, and the rareness of auxiliary home training.
- (c) In teaching the elements, and giving general intelligence.
- (d) In training the existing machinery of 23,000 pupil teachers, assistant and certificated teachers.
- (e) In accomplishing all these results, while they have satisfied the feeling and convictions of the Church and other communities.
- (f) In the moral and religious influences exercised by the schools as one of the most powerful agencies of civilisation; the value of which receives a signal recognition from the Commissioners.

Now, on these results the Royal Commission has given a favourable report,* with the exception already stated.

in 172, is reported as either good or fair; in a great majority of cases the latter. In 159 the arithmetic was good, or fair; while in 17 it was decidedly defective."

Mr. BRODIE, p. 184.—"The teachers, as a body, in my district, display great aptitude and ability; and, considering the common circumstances against which they all contend," "their patience, energy, and constant assiduous labour, deserve no slight praise." P. 188.—"Writing is generally good and practical; in some schools excellent. Dictation is worked in almost all schools generally well; but, whatever its other value, does not always promote good spelling."

Thus we find that the teachers of our public schools are *not* too highly educated to stoop to mere elementary instruction, but that they are zealously and earnestly labouring in their vocation, and "are doing sound work, which needs not fear the closest examination."—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. LANGTON.

* SECTION 4.—MORAL INFLUENCE OF THE INSPECTED SCHOOLS.

"The moral effect produced by the schools is more important than the instruction given in them, although not so appreciable. The

The first of the two preceding pleas of the promoters of schools may be demonstrated upon the elements collected by

standards by which it can be measured are less definite. We believe it to be very great, and we should be astonished if it were not so. We have seen that the managers of the public schools are almost all of them men whom strong religious convictions and feelings have impelled to found and to maintain schools at a considerable, sometimes a very great expenditure of trouble and money. We have seen that the pupil teachers and masters have generally been selected for their moral as well as their intellectual character, and have received an education more religious than any other that is given in England. Among the higher classes in society the teacher is not socially superior to his pupils, often he is their inferior; often the difference in cultivation and refinement between the school and home is unfavourable to the school. But among the labouring classes the teacher is almost the only educated man with whom they daily come in contact. The school, when compared to the home, is a model of neatness and order." *

"We might assume, therefore, even if we did not know it to be so, that the religious and therefore the moral influence of the public schools over the children must be very great, and we have also much evidence in support of that opinion."

"One of the tests of the moral influence of the school is its discipline. The best teaching will produce little good effect if this be defective."—(p. 266, vol. i. Report of Royal Commission.)

"We have strong testimony to the marked superiority of inspected over uninspected schools, and to the stimulus which inspection supplies, subject to the remark that the Inspectors often lead the teachers to dwell on matters of memory rather than of reasoning, and rather on details than on general principles, or on general results; and also subject to the further remark as to the inconvenience of differences in the standards adopted by different Inspectors."—(p. 273, *ibid.*)

"The religious and moral influence of the public schools appears to be very great, to be greater than even their intellectual influence. A set of good schools civilises a whole neighbourhood. The most important function of the schools is that which they best perform."—(p. 273, *ibid.*)

"Even as to mere literary instruction, it would be a mistake to suppose that the existing system has failed because it has hitherto educated successfully only one-fourth of the pupils. The effort has been directed towards establishing a good type of education; towards

the Royal Commission in support of their plan, of making a considerable part of the annual grants to schools dependent on the number of scholars who could pass an examination in reading, writing, and ciphering.

The Commissioners state their own proposition (p. 174.) in the following words:—"Even under the present condition of school age and attendance, it would be possible for at least three-fifths of the children on the books of the schools, the 63·7 per cent. who attend 100 days and upwards, to learn to read and write without conscious difficulty, and to perform such arithmetical operations as occur in the ordinary business of life. This knowledge they might receive while under the influence of wholesome moral and religious discipline, and they might add to it an acquaintance with the leading principles of religion, and the rules of conduct which flow from them."

Statement of Commissioners as to the number of scholars who ought to attain a certain standard.

The hindrances under the heads of school age and attendance are erroneously estimated in this formula.

Error of this formula.

National education does not depend simply on the school-training of one generation. The first generation of children in school inherit some physical incapacity to learn. Their instruction is hindered by the late age at which they enter, the extreme irregularity with which they are sent to school, and the early age at which they are withdrawn. They have no help at home from semi-barbarous parents; but on the

Hindrances to the attainment of the standard.

the quality of the teaching more than to the number of the taught. In this point it has succeeded. In good schools the senior classes have turned out scholars really well taught; the pupil-teachers have been brought up in them, and even where the definite results in the junior classes might appear small in an examination, they have probably affected the whole school morally and intellectually. We think, however, that the time is come when a further attempt should be made to influence the instruction of the large body of inferior schools and of inferior pupils who have hitherto been little affected. We propose to effect this by offering distinct inducements to the masters in all schools, to bring up their individual scholars, junior as well as senior, to a certain mark."—(p. 274, *ibid.*)

contrary, much hindrance from bad example, rude household management, capricious and often harsh treatment, and the incapacity of the parents to understand the value of school training. The influence of the school is not fully felt, even in the humblest technical acquirements of the children, until the parents have been themselves trained and instructed in day and evening schools, and civilised by other influences.

The Royal Commission overlooked the condition of a large part of the people twenty-five years ago. Pauperised counties.

The Commissioners have overlooked the condition of the people immediately before the constitution of the Committee of Council on Education. In the pauperised counties they were in a state resembling helotry. The labourers were bound to their parish by a strict law of settlement. They were largely dependent on the poor-rate. There were few or no schools. The population was ignorant and demoralised; it had the craft of the pauper, or of the pensioner on parochial doles,—of the poacher and the squatter on the common, but not the manly bearing of the independent labourer. Wages varied from 7s., in Dorsetshire and some parts of Suffolk, to 10s. per week in other counties. The income of an agricultural labourer's family on the average was £26. to £30. per annum, including harvest work and the earnings of children.

Manufacturing and Mining Districts.

The manufacturing and mining districts had been peopled in fifty years with a vast population gathered from these pauper counties,—from wolds, moors, fens, and from the wild, desolate hills and glens of the border and of Wales. The villages and even the towns were rude, irregular, to a great extent unsewered, and unpaved,—without proper water supply or police. Entire districts were without church or school, and religious teaching was supplied by voluntary agencies, while education was given almost solely in scattered Sunday-schools.

Great improvement in municipal and religious organisation, and in education. Previous state of Schools.

The last twenty-five years has witnessed a great municipal and religious revolution;—the last fifteen years a still greater change in education. When schools were planted twenty years ago in towns, villages, and rural parishes, almost the only teachers were either untrained men, who from some defect of body or health had been driven from the rougher struggles

of life or muscular toil, or were self-taught Sunday-school teachers, trained for three or six months in some central model school.

They had to struggle, aided only by monitors under thirteen years of age, with the untamed brutishness of the wild or pauperised immigrant population,—with the semi-barbarism of children from coarse sensual homes,—with the utter want of consciousness in the population that humble learning could do their children any good,—with the then extravagant and harsh claims of an unorganised system of manufacturing and mining labour,—with the absence of previous training in the home or infant school,—with the late age at which children with no school habits, savage, ignorant, incapable, wayward, or wild, came under their care,—with irregularity of attendance,—short school attendance in each year, and brief school time altogether,—constant migration of families,—and overwhelming ill-paid duties.

To grapple with these evils, the Government resolved to create a new machinery of public education. This new trained machinery of apprenticed pupil-teachers, assistant and certificated teachers, has come into existence chiefly since 1847. The number in each year since that date has been as follows (p. 638, vol. i. Report of Royal Commission):—

Government
resolved to create
a new machinery
of education.

annual
production of
s machinery
ce 1849.

At the end of Year.	Number of Certificated Teachers.			Number of Assistant Teachers.			Number of Pupil-Teachers.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
1849	....	....	681	....	....	....	2,424	1,156	3,580
1850	....	....	980	....	....	....	3,070	1,590	4,660
1851	845	328	1,173	....	....	....	3,637	1,950	5,607
1852	1,158	513	1,671	....	....	....	4,011	2,169	6,180
1853	1,541	756	2,297	67	28	95	4,308	2,604	6,912
1854	1,859	977	2,836	139	33	172	4,500	3,096	7,596
1855	2,242	1,190	3,432	173	48	221	4,910	3,614	8,524
1856	2,726	1,647	4,373	181	44	225	5,800	4,445	10,245
1857	3,206	1,960	5,166	198	46	244	6,773	5,449	12,222
1858	3,568	2,320	5,888	184	59	243	7,673	6,351	14,024
1859	4,137	2,741	6,878	214	81	295	8,219	7,005	15,224

immaturity of
present corps of
trained teachers.

This corps of teachers has been like the raw recruits of an army suddenly raised—brought into the field in successive

battalions, on the verge of an immature manhood, and placed, as soon as drilled, in the front of difficulties and dangers. They have had to take up everywhere the work of the untrained masters. They have been the pioneers of civilisation. Fourteen years have barely elapsed since their first companies took up their position, and their ranks are still full of the last batches of raw recruits. The schools hitherto founded have met the wants of barely one-half of the population. Every year has been adding to the experience of the inspectors of schools, and of managers and teachers. But schools are not universal, and are not yet thoroughly efficient.

The teachers have had to contend with all the obstacles which defeated their untrained predecessors. If some of these hindrances be examined in detail, it will become apparent that the proposition of the Commissioners, that it is reasonable, under all these circumstances, to expect that three-fifths of the scholars should now have the attainments required by them, is a fallacy, founded on a neglect of these considerations. I Typical classes of uncivilized scholars described in note.

* The manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire have been fed by a constant immigration from the wolds of North Yorkshire and the border, and from the moors of Cumberland, Westmoreland, Derbyshire, the Pennine Chain, and Wales. A family enters a manufacturing village; the children are at various school ages, from seven to eleven. They probably have never lived but in a hovel; have never been in the street of a village or town; are unacquainted with common usages of social life; perhaps, never saw a book; are bewildered by the rapid motion of crowds; confused in an assemblage of scholars. They have to be taught to stand upright,—to walk without a slouching gait,—to sit without crouching like a sheep dog. They have to learn some decency in their skin, hair, and dress. They are commonly either cowed and sullen, or wild, fierce, and obstinate. In the street they are often in a tumult of rude agitation. In the school they are probably classed with scholars some years younger than themselves. They have no habits of attention, and are distracted by the babel of sounds about them. The effort of abstraction required to connect a sound with a letter is at first impossible to them. Their parents are almost equally brutish. They have lived solitary lives in some wild region, where the

typical classes of uncivilised scholars whom the teachers have had to train.

husband has been a shepherd, or hind, or quarryman, or miner, or turf cutter, or has won a precarious livelihood as a carrier, driver of loaded lime ponies, or poacher. The pressing wants of a growing family have induced them to accept the offer of some agent from a mill. From personal experience of many years, I know that such children as these form a large portion of the scholars which the schools of the cotton and woollen districts have to civilise and Christianise. A large part of that better work has often been accomplished, and the benumbed brain has been awakened from its torpidity, and fitted for the reception of knowledge which there has not been time to give. The half-time system in factories, and the rule that no child under eight shall be employed in them, have been in operation little more than twenty years. Before this time the factory children of settled families were as brutish as they still are in mining districts. The children employed in bleach and print works have had only a limited and almost worthless protection from too early and excessive labour.

A different kind of brutishness is shewn by a large class of scholars in the most degraded parts of great cities. A London child, living in a street of brothels and thieves' dens, with parents leading abandoned lives, spends his day in the kennel among sharp-witted, restless little creatures like himself. He is his own master. His powers of observation are singularly acute; his powers of decision rapid; his will energetic. He is known as the "Arab of the street." He learns a great deal of evil. Perhaps, he is an accomplished thief or beggar, or picks up a precarious living by holding horses, sweeping a crossing, or costermongering. Such children have of late years been netted in shoals,—got into schools,—have been won, tamed, and, in some degree, taught. *But is it not a mischievous fallacy to say that the work done is to be measured by the proficiency of such children in reading, writing, and arithmetic?* All that has been done has been against wind and tide. At home—misery, drunkenness, sullen despair, or the irritability of a dissolute life, drive the child into the street. Bad example at home lends its corruption to the foulness of the street of stews, and hiding holes. *Are twenty scattered weeks, even if repeated in three successive years, enough to get rid of the wild, untamed barbarism of such children, and to graft on this civilisation that amount of knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic which the Commissioners say is so easy?*

What has to be done in the case of the children who have hitherto worked, without protection and without instruction, in mines? From

All these classes of children tend, if the school contain any other more fortunate scholars, to drag down their instruction. They introduce elements of disorder. They overtax the energies of the teachers in striving to lift them somewhat nearer to a level of intelligence and decency. I have had experience during nearly twenty years of large schools, through which, until lately, has floated a constant supply of an immigrant semi-savage population, bred on the moors of the Pennine Chain. While this immigration of an uncivilised transient population continued, and the teachers had also the additional burthen of the half-time factory system, a staff of most skilful trained teachers, working with exemplary industry, failed to

The injurious influence of the children of an immigrant semi-barbarous population on school

eight years of age they have sat eight hours daily in the black darkness, with their feet in the mud or running water, and the dripping roof of the mine overhead—opening and shutting the ventilating doors—or as they grew older dragging the corves or waggons?

Take Mr. Norris's account of the life of a potter's child, up to the age of apprenticeship (p. 184, Commissioners' Report):—"At eighteen months or two years old he is sent to one of the dames who gain a livelihood by taking care of young children whose mothers are at the factory. There, from seven in the morning to eight or nine at night, he is stowed away in a small room, without exercise or change of air, predisposing the constitution to consumption, which is a common malady in the pottery towns. This continues, on an average, for four years. He is then, at five and a half or six years old, sent perhaps to the National School, where he stays one or two, or at most three years; but during the latter part of the time he is sure to be kept away very much, to act as an occasional substitute for some other boy who is at work. At eight or nine ('earlier if his parents are drunken or improvident, often at six or seven') he begins to work regularly for a journeyman potter, turning his jigger (the potter's wheel, to which steam seems never to have been applied), and earning from 1s. to 2s. a week. In a year or two a quick boy will begin 'handling' (making handles for cups, &c.) or 'figuring,' and earn from 2s. to 4s. But by this time a great change has come over him,—he has been kept at work twelve or thirteen hours each day, and so, even if disposed to continue his school studies, has little time to do so; consequently he now reads badly, and writes worse; and, in short, nearly all he acquired at school is forgotten."

produce any results in the schools which would bear the application of the Commissioners' test. Yet the cost of these schools, since 1844, has seldom been below 30s. per scholar. Of late years the surrounding population has become settled, and consists of families selected from the immigrant mass for their better qualities. The schools have begun to triumph over these formidable difficulties; but for reasons (which will be explained at length hereafter) the scheme of the capitation grant contained in the Code would still be unjust, and would disorganise the machinery of these schools.

These facts overlooked by the Royal Commission. Their formula of results to be attained by 3-5ths of the scholars as yet unreasonable.

These are some of the facts overlooked by the Commissioners, which prove that it is *not reasonable to expect that, under the present conditions of school age and attendance, it would be possible for at least three-fifths of the children on the books in these schools—the 63·7 per cent. who attend 100 days and upwards—to attain the standard contained in the formula previously quoted from their Report.*

Merely technical follow moral results and never precede them.

The promoters of schools say, in reply, that *the merely technical and mechanical results follow a large part of the moral and religious training, and never precede them.*

The success of English inspected schools in technical results is certain.

They have satisfied the Commissioners with the moral and religious training of their scholars. They have, as shewn by the reports of the inspectors already quoted, obtained already no little success in these technical elements. That is the first step towards complete success. They are certain that the present teachers and their pupil teachers would soon—out of the degree of civilisation which the schools have created—evolve better results in all the elements of a sound English education, than have been attained in those parts of Scotland which have had parochial schools and a settled population since the Reformation.

Apprehension as to some immediate consequences of Revised Code.

But the promoters of schools entertain a just apprehension that the necessities of many schools would compel the managers to refuse to admit children who presented themselves with a standard of acquirements so much below that required in the Code, as to give no hope that they could, however skil-

fully taught, pass the examination; to turn out dull scholars, sluggards, and truants, though the fault might be in the want of local civilisation and home training. School managers emphatically say that the Revised Code overlooks the value of all this indispensable preliminary moral and intellectual training. *It treats it as no part of the work done.* It discourages it because it cannot test it, and therefore excludes it from all aid. Moreover, the clergy and religious communions regard with alarm the scheme which bases the whole of the annual grants on a technical examination in the purely secular elements of knowledge, to the entire exclusion of all the results of moral and intellectual discipline, and religious training and instruction.

That part of the negative proposition on which the Revised Code is built, which *implies a misdirection of effort*, will be replied to in detail in other parts of this paper. It will be more convenient, in the first instance, to *examine the scheme in the Revised Code by which it is presumed that the work done in elementary schools is tested, as respects the three lowest elements*; and the whole annual grants are in future proposed to be transferred from their present basis to a capitation grant, determined by this new and untried test.

The note at the foot of this page contains those clauses of the Revised Code which relate to the examination, by the results of which the amount of this capitation grant is to be awarded.*

* Annual grants conditional upon the number and Proficiency of the Scholars, the Number and Qualifications of the Teachers, and the state of the Schools.

38. Schools may meet three times daily; viz., in the morning, afternoon, and evening.

39. Schools which do not meet more than once daily cannot receive grants.

40. The managers of schools may claim per scholar 1d. for every attendance, after the first 100, at the morning or afternoon meetings, and after the first 12 at the evening meetings, of their school, within

The Revised Code treats all moral training as no part of the work done.

Scheme in Revised Code by which it is presumed that the work done in elementary schools is tested, as respects the three lowest elements; and the whole annual grants are in future proposed to be transferred from their present basis to a capitation grant, determined by this new and untried test.

These clauses of the Revised Code are in note.

practicability of
making any large
part of annual
grants on this
basis.

I propose, first, to examine the practicability of making the whole of the annual grants, or any large part of them, dependent on the conditions of this scheme.

the year defined by Article 17.* Attendances under Half-time Acts may be multiplied by two to make up the preliminary number. One-third part of the sum thus claimable is forfeited if the scholar fails to satisfy the inspector in reading, one-third if in writing, and one-third if in arithmetic respectively, according to Article 44.

41. No claim may be made on account of—

- (a) Any scholar, except in group IV., who has given less than 16 morning or afternoon attendances, or 8 evening attendances, within the 31 days preceding the date of the return ;
- (b) Evening attendances by scholars under 13 years of age ;
- (c) A third attendance on the same day ;
- (d) Scholars once passed in group IV.

42. The claim is to be made, and the examination recorded, in a schedule of the following form, or in such a modification of it as the Committee of Council shall from time to time prescribe.

* The Commissioners estimate the cost of education at 30s. per annum (p. 345), and recommend that the average grant obtainable should be about 10s. per child, never exceeding 15s. per child.

Fifteen shillings=180 pence, may be earned, according to the proposed scale, by an attendance (twice per diem) of 140 days = the attendance proposed by the Commissioners as reasonable to aim at (p. 330).

According to the estimate of the Commissioners, the education of every 100 children = £150., and according to a rough application of the Table at p. 173 of their Report to the proposed scale, the grant obtainable for the attendance of 100 children would be £64. 3s. 4d., before the reductions consequent upon examination and inspection. The average, therefore, including evening scholars, would probably not exceed 10s. per head. The calculation is as follows:—

Amount of Grant for 100 Children at 1d. per Attendance after the First 100 Attendances.

Out of every 100 children, according to the average of England and Wales (Report, p. 172), taking round numbers, and counting 1 day = 2 attendances:—

20	make less than 100 attendances.....	= £0 0 0
20	" between 100 and 200 = (upon an average) 150, of which 50 at 1d. = 20 X 4s. 2d.	4 3 4
20	" between 200 and 300 = (upon an average) 250, of which 150 at 1d. = 20 X 12s. 6d.	12 10 0
20	" between 300 and 400 = (upon an average) 350, of which 250 at 1d. = 20 X 20s. 10d.	20 16 8
20	" between 400 and 440 = (upon an average) 420, of which 320 at 1d. = 20 X 26s. 8d.	26 13 4
		<hr/> £64 3 4 <hr/>

In the letter which I addressed to your Lordship on the financial recommendations of the Royal Commission, I stated that the working of any such scheme was long ago examined and rejected, as full of difficulties which appeared insuperable. I did not intend to say that a scheme of examination in the three lowest elements could not be devised, on the results of which a *certain limited portion of the grant might not be made dependent*. I had, in fact, advised the adoption of such a scheme in the last paragraph of the Minute of 2nd of April, 1853. But such an arrangement cannot be extended beyond a certain limit, and even within that limit would be attended with partial injustice.

No. of each Child.	Name of every Scholar who has attended more than 100 separate Meetings of the School in the Year ending 186 (Article 17), of which attendances 16 or upwards were within 31 days of the last-mentioned date.	Aged		Total Number of Attendances at separate Meetings of the School in the Year as per Column 2.	Amount claimed per Child at the Rate of one Penny per Attendance after the first 100 Attendances	Examined by Inspector, and passed in			Order of Committee of Council that the Amount paid (omitting all fractions of 1d.) be
		Years.	Months.			Read- ing.	Writ- ing.	Arith- metic.	
1	GROUP I. A.B C.D. &c.			£. s. d.	£. s. d.				£ s. d.
2									
3	GROUP II. E.F. G.H. &c.								
4									
5	GROUP III. J.K. L.M. &c.								
&c.	GROUP IV. N.O. P.Q. &c.								

43. Group I. is confined to children between 3 and 7 years of age.

" II. between 7 and 9 years of age.

" III. " 9 " 11 "

" IV. " 11 and upwards.

passage in Letter I will quote the passage from the letter which I addressed
 Earl Granville to your Lordship on the report of the Royal Commission:—
 dated April 24th, “Any capitation grant, the distribution of which is deter-
 61, quoted. mined by the results of instruction in schools, is liable to the

Those scholars who attend in the evenings only (Articles 40-1),
 must be distinguished from the rest in group IV., and entered therein
after the rest.

44.	Group I.	Group II.	Group III.	Group IV.
Reading ..	Narrative in monosyllables.	A short paragraph from an elementary reading book used in the school.	A short paragraph from a more advanced reading book used in the school.	A short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative.
Writing ..	Form on black-board or slate, from dictation, letters, capital and small, manuscript.	A sentence from the same paragraph, slowly read once, and then dictated in single words.	A sentence slowly dictated once by a few words at a time, from the same book, but not from the paragraph read.	Another short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative, slowly dictated once by a few words at a time.
Arithmetic.	Form on black-board or slate, from dictation, figures up to 20; name at sight figures up to 20; add and subtract figures up to 10, orally, from examples on black-board.	A sum in any simple rule as far as short division (inclusive).	A sum in compound rules (money & common weights and measures).	A sum in practice or simple proportion.

But Scholars attending in the evening only may be presented for examination in any group at the discretion of the managers.

45. The grant may either be withheld altogether or reduced.

46. The grant is withheld altogether,—

- (a) If the school be not held in a building certified by the inspector to be healthy, properly lighted, drained, and ventilated, supplied with offices, and containing in the principal school-room at least 80 cubical feet of internal space for each child in average attendance.
- (b) If the principal teacher be not duly certificated (Article 61.)
- (c) If the girls in the school be not taught plain needlework as part of the ordinary course of instruction.

"fundamental objection that the average period of the attendance of the majority of scholars is so short, that, as far as that majority is concerned, few schools would be paid for the results of their own work. In the specimen districts 42·3

Insuperable
difficulties to
scheme in
Revised Code

- (d) If the registers be not kept with sufficient accuracy to warrant confidence in the returns.
- (e) If, on the inspector's report, there appears to be any *prima facie* objection of a gross kind. A second inspection, wherein another inspector or inspectors takes part, is made in every such instance, and if the grant be finally withheld, a special minute is made and recorded of the case.
- (f) If three persons at least be not designated to sign the receipt for the grant on behalf of the school.

47. The grant is reduced,—

- (a) By not less than one-tenth nor more than one-half in the whole, upon the inspector's report, for faults of instruction or discipline on the part of the teacher, or (after one year's notice) for failure on the part of the managers to remedy any such defect in the premises as seriously interferes with the efficiency of the school, or to provide proper furniture, books, maps, and other apparatus of elementary instruction.
- (b) By the sum of £10. for every completed number of 30 scholars after the first 50 in average attendance who are without a teacher fulfilling the conditions of Articles 61, or 75-83, or 85-7.
- (c) By its excess above

1. The amount of school fees and subscriptions; or,	}	in the year
2. The rate of 15s. per scholar in average attendance,		defined by Article 17.

48. If the excess of scholars over the ratio of 30 to every pupil-teacher has arisen from increased attendance of children since the last settlement of the school staff (Articles 56, 57), the forfeiture prescribed by Article 47 (b) does not accrue.

49. In every school receiving annual grants is to be kept, besides the ordinary registers of attendance,—

- (a) A diary or log-book.
- (b) A portfolio wherein may be laid all official letters, which should be numbered (1, 2, 3, &c.,) in the order of their receipt.

"per cent. of the scholars (Commissioners' report, p. 659) had
 "been in the same public week-day school less than one
 "year, and 22.7 per cent. had been one year, but less than
 "two years. These proportions for England and Wales are
 "41.65 per cent. scholars who had attended the same school
 "less than one year, and 22.58 who had been one year and
 "less than two years. With such migratory scholars, it is
 "impossible justly to pay for work done in schools on any plan
 "constructed to embrace those three-fifths of the scholars who
 "attend school less than two years. The remaining 35.77 per
 "cent. who attend more than two years are alone subjects for
 "an examination of the results secured by the work of any
 "school. This, however, is not the proposal of the Com-
 "mission. Their proposal is to pay a capitation grant on
 "every scholar who has attended 140 days in the preceding
 "year, and can read, write, and cipher. A scholar cannot
 "learn to read, write, and cipher so as to pass a public exam-
 "ination in two years, much less in 140 days. Any examina-
 "tion of the majority of more than three-fifths who attend less
 "than two years must therefore obviously fail to ascertain how
 "far even these elements have been taught to that majority in
 "any school. If the remaining two-fifths who have been in
 "the school more than two years were separated from the other
 "scholars, and examined apart, some approximate estimate
 "might be thus made of the work done in the school."

migratory state
 population
 indifference
 caprice of
 ents.

This was a brief statement of a fundamental difficulty
 grounded on the—

1. *Migratory state of the population in Great Britain, and
 the indifference or caprice of parents*, who have had only brief
 experience of good schools. That difficulty alone appeared so
 insuperable an obstacle that others were not set forth. Those
 other objections may now be examined in connection with the
 capitation grant scheme in the Code, or with any modifications
 of it affecting any *large part* of the annual grants.

British state of
 the class of im-
 migrant scholars.

2. Scholars enter the school who are in a state of brutish
 ignorance, unreclaimed barbarism and incapacity, requiring

many months of skilful elementary training. Even if they enter young, they cannot fulfil the requirements of the Code. But it would be worse than useless to reduce the standard of acquirements in the Code towards this class of scholars, who enter at nine or even seven years of age without the knowledge of a letter.* Such a change would be, to fix the standard on the capacities and knowledge of savages, and on a transient remediable state of the population. Yet the reclamation of these children from barbarism is a good, greater far than mere

* Extract from Report of Royal Commission.

"It must also be remembered that the children are frequently grossly ignorant when they first come to school, having been either at no infant school or at a mere dame's school. This is illustrated by the following Table* of the state of knowledge of 369 boys, admitted or re-admitted to St. George's School, Sheffield, from August 1854 to August 1855:—

"THE following TABLE is drawn up from the Admission-book or Register, and shows the State of Education, or rather the Ignorance of the Children admitted into the St. George's Boys' National School, between 1st August 1854 and 1st August 1855. 369 were admitted and re-admitted during the above period."

Number who had never been in an infants' school.	Who could read words of two or three syllables.	Who could read monosyllables by spelling them.	Who could only tell their letters.	Who could not tell their letters.	Who could write their names.	Who could not write their names or letters.	Who had never learnt any arithmetic.	Who could do simple addition.	Who could do simple subtraction.	Who could do simple multiplication.	Who could do simple division.	Who could do addition and subtraction.	Who could do addition, subtraction, and multiplication.	Who could do the whole of the first four simple rules.	Who could do compound addition.	Who could do compound subtraction.	Who could do compound multiplication.	Who could do compound division.	Who could do reduction.	Who could do rule of three.	Who could do practice, &c.
226	61	99	70	139	97	272	291	5	1	1	1	16	12	6	3	3	2	1	3	9	0
	*	†	‡																§		

* This includes 8 boys who had previously been in the school, but on leaving work were re-admitted.

† This includes 9 who were re-admitted.

‡ This includes 3 who were re-admitted.

§ This includes 6 who were re-admitted.

(p. 263, vol. I.)

technical instruction in the three lowest elements. This reclamation is not to be tested by mere technical examination.

Incapacity of scholars bred in coarsely sensual population.

3. Besides the brutish immigrants, and the street-taught children of cities, the school has charge of *very dull scholars*. They are inept from scrofula; from mismanagement in childhood; from the dissolute habits of their parents, entailing on them forms of brain torpor or disease. When the teacher expends a larger amount of labour on them than on clever children, the school could receive no aid for them under the "*Revised Code*."

Extreme irregularity of attendance at school.

4. The children of dissolute, or rude parents, indifferent to their education, attend with *strange irregularity*. They are not simply among the two-fifths who do not attend twenty weeks, but their attendance is most capricious. When away from school, its influences are counteracted by the worst home example—and by that bad school the street, with its republic of vagrant little ruffians. They return after each interval demoralized. That is an insuperable obstacle to early success in technical instruction.

Contrasted state of population in which conditions of Commissioners could be fulfilled.

The degree of success attending the struggle with all these formidable difficulties cannot be tested by any such examination as that set forth in the Code.

We must suppose a settled population, in which most of the children enter an infant school at three years of age, and spend a hundred and forty days, on the average, in a good school, with a fair amount of home training and example, before we can even approach to the hope expressed by the royal commissioners, that three-fifths of the scholars may receive the amount of instruction which they are so sanguine as to expect.

Even then a reduction of one-fifth of the annual grants inevitable under provisions of Code.

But even in this case it is easy to show how sudden would be the reduction of the annual grants, by the operation of the Revised Code, on these inspected schools, without taking into account the losses contingent on the absence of children on the day of inspection, or during 16 and a half school-times in the preceding month, or on account of errors of judgment on

the part of the inspector, and on the incalculable, because indefinite, reduction of the grant which the inspector may recommend, under Clause 47 of the Code. * The foot-note contains a statement of the reduction unavoidable on the Commissioners' estimate in the case of a settled population, without these last sources of loss.

That the loss set forth in the note would fall far short of the actual loss I shall shew by returns obtained from schools; but without such returns it was easy to foresee what the extent of loss would be. Only 35·77 per cent. of the scholars attend the same school more than two years, and 22·58 per cent. only one year and less than two years. The improved machinery of schools has been only gradually introduced in the last fourteen years; it is still comparatively inexperienced, and has to meet the wants of children whose parents for the most part have either had no instruction or only that of the Sunday-

A priori reason for expecting a loss of two-fifths of the annual grants confirmed by returns obtained.

* The Commissioners' estimate, that reading, writing, and arithmetic, may be sufficiently taught to the three-fifths of the scholars who attend twenty weeks in the year without the neglect of religious and moral instruction and training, implies that they expected the imaginary two-fifths to fail. On this basis, the maximum capitation grant under the Code towards the support of schools with an average attendance of 837,212 scholars (Appendix No. 1, p. 3, Report of Committee of Council on Education, 1860-61.) would have to be reduced two-fifths. Now 837,212 at £64. 3s. 4d. per hundred scholars, the rate of the capitation grant, estimated in the Revised Code (Note at p. 8 of Code) for attendance before it is reduced for failures in reading, writing, and arithmetic, would amount to £537,203., leaving, when two-fifths are deducted (according to the Commissioners' estimate of "what is possible under the present conditions of schoolage and attendance"), £322,323., as the amount of grant which it is possible by skill, zeal, and perseverance to obtain. In other words, according to the opinion of the Commissioners, these elementary schools, under the Revised Code, the present amount of annual grants, £438,353. 11s. 5d., must undergo a reduction of £116,030. annually, or more than one-fourth, under the first effects of the Code. It will become apparent, however, that the deduction from the annual grants caused by the revised Code will be almost double this sum.

school. Under such circumstances, a reduction of about two-fifths of the *annual grants of elementary schools* might have been anticipated; or of £175,340. in the first year of the operation of the Revised Code. That anticipation is supported by the returns obtained from schools.

Subordinate
conditions of
scheme in Code
briefly stated.

Some of the details of the conditions in the Code, as to attendance, deserve only brief comment. Such are those of Clause 41 (a), that no grant will be made for any scholar who has not attended $16\frac{1}{2}$ school times in the 31 days preceding the day of inspection, and of course who is not present at the examination.

School managers naturally ask whether this is to apply to a school inspected during or soon after any harvest; or after any holiday week, such as a fair, wakes, rush-bearing week, Whitsuntide, or Christmas; or after the usual school holidays; or after a period of very bad weather, in a district of bad roads, with a scattered population; or after a general prevalence of influenza, or any of the contagious diseases of children. They inquire, too, whether their grant for any child is to be subject to the consequences of discontent in a master under notice of dismissal; or to possible hurry, impatience, carelessness, or error of judgment in an inspector; or to the dread of the scholars of examination by a stranger; or to the caprice of any ignorant, negligent, or ill-tempered parent who may choose to keep one or more scholars at home on the day of examination; or to meet the common daily claims of the households of the poor on the services of their children for nursing, errands, and other duties.

Nothing has surprised the promoters of public education more than the regulation which practically discourages the extension of school attendance beyond eleven years of age, by refusing the grant to such scholars. A very small per centage of such children belong to any other class than that supported by manual labour.

Necessary
subordinate
provisions of

There are no provisions in the Code to meet the circumstances of children working, according to the provisions of the

law, in bleach or printworks, or in mines. The same examination is prescribed for girls as for boys, and for half-time scholars as for those attending full time. Children between 3 and 7 years of age (Clauses 43, 44.) are required to read a "narrative in monosyllables;" to "form, on a black board or slate, from dictation, letters, capital and small, manuscript;" and to "form, on black board or slate, from dictation, figures up to 20; name at sight figures up to 20; add and subtract figures up to 10, orally, from examples on black board." The opinion of practical educators on these requirements from infants has been unanimous, as to their impracticability and injurious tendency.*

The injustice and impolicy of these regulations of detail is graphically set forth in a letter from a schoolmaster, published in the *Daily News*, an extract from which I place in a note.†

* "The effect of the Code will be to cut off nearly all Government assistance to Infant Schools. It is the great object of these schools, whilst relieving parents for a time from the care of infants between two and five, to prepare them, by blending amusement with instruction, to read and write. Such preparatory work is ignored. Infants must attain a certain standard in reading, writing, and arithmetic, or nothing is paid them."—(*Paper by Messrs. Reynolds and Martin*, Sep. 13, 1861.)

† "But it may be said that the Code does not provide for the general work of education; it proposes only to pay for labour producing certain moderate 'results.' Let us see if this labour will be fairly rewarded.

"My inspection is due in March. In the interval between that date and the December previous, I admit 14 boys. (I quote from my last year's register.) They cannot make 100 attendances before this, but will be properly qualified by the next visitation. I set honestly to work to give to this raw material the standard finish and polish. I achieve my 'results.' In marketable value these 14 are worth, on an average, 15s. each; but three months before the annual inspection, ten of the number leave me. I have laboured twelve months, but my 'results' are not presentable on that day, and I lose £7. 10s.

"Or Tom Smith and four of his compeers—no large number in a total of 150 scholars—are sick or absent. They would pass muster, I am certain. I calculate that each bears 20s. on his head; but I cannot lay Tom in his bed at the examiner's feet, or bribe his mother to spare

detail which are
omitted in
Revised Code.
Effect of Code
on grants to
Infant Schools.

If the principle of making a large part of the grant dependent on attendance and on this examination, were defensible,

him from the baby, or purchase him new 'shoes to come in,' as the case may be; so John's and his brother's 'results' are lost, and with them £5. hardly earned.

"Or, during the year I have presented for admission some twenty boys, who, within the last four years, have attended half-a-dozen different schools, with long intervals of home idleness, or 'little places' between each change. They are about the age of the 'third group,' and are not mentally fit for the second. I know that with these I can do nothing as far as remuneration is concerned. I admit them, if I have any conscience; reject them, if I aim at simple 'results.' Toil as I may, I cannot repair in one year the neglect of nine. Long before they are qualified for group 2, they are disqualified by age for any but group 1, and are plucked accordingly. Every school has a large percentage of such scholars,—of 'results' for which the workman will get nothing.

"Or, I have a brisk, intelligent 'result' in my first group, who has been with me some months—who, indeed, owes all but a few finishing touches to another hand. By his side is his senior, with whose dullness and incapacity I have struggled for years. I must present him in 'group one'—he cannot pass there; his junior does. I lose my reward in the last case, where it was honestly earned; I get the grant in the first, where the 'result' was another man's.

"Again, I have twenty boys, who pass in group 4, and must not be presented again. What am I to do with them? Is eleven years the age at which education should terminate? If not, the time I hereafter devote to them is time withdrawn from the manufacture of 'results.' If I am sufficiently 'practical,' I neglect or dismiss them. If I am a Christian, I retain them, but with the expenditure of unremunerated labour. But the framers of a scheme that is to reward only the producer of 'results,' should not count upon my charity to remedy its defects.

"Finally, my school managers are bound to employ two pupil teachers; their pay on an average is £30. per annum. The school is not a large one, and as the old capitation fee, the grants for books, apparatus, &c., are withdrawn, I find that there is small or no surplus to award to the teacher. I discover, therefore, that I, who under the old certificate scheme received £35. per annum for doing nothing, as 'H. S. S.' would put it,—though that is a matter of opinion,—shall get nothing under the system that is to pay me in proportion to the results of my labour.

these details might be amended. But the objection to this mode of apportioning the grant could not be remedied by raising the scale of grant, as has been proposed.

Suppose the scale were raised so as to make the whole amount of the annual grants equal to the sum now distributed. That change would not get rid of the injustice and absurdity of the consequent inequality of the sums allotted to schools in districts widely differing in their power to fulfil the conditions. It would still bear no proportion whatever to the work done, or to the true wants of the schools. The objection is one of principle, which is not to be overcome by any change of detail or scale. A capitation grant, based upon an examination of individual children, does not pay for the work done in the school. It is

The insuperable objections to scheme in Code not cured by raising the scale of the capitation grant.

"I am not afraid to bring my work to the test. Twenty years of school-work, annually tested, have accustomed me to the ordeal. But the test proposed is not a fair one. It is making an average result of my labour the measure of its positive results. On the day of trial I may have fifty children duly qualified to present; but I may have worked as many more up to the standard during the year, who from causes over which I have no control have left the school,—'results' as valuable to the nation as if I had been paid for producing them. The old test was a fair and sensible one. The inspector saw that the due proportion of children in the school were educated to the established standard. He saw that those who had not reached it were fairly on the road to it; and, satisfied that the machinery of the place was perfectly adapted to make results a moral certainty, he signed the document that secured the teacher his reward. In fact, the weakness of the old system was not in the distribution of the grant or the indolence of the teacher, it was in the early age at which children were withdrawn from school to fill the labour market. The new system, by cutting off or chilling the sympathies of the teacher with 'group one,' and encouraging the notion that at eleven the work of education is completed, will exaggerate the evil and multiply that numerous class who leave our schools, and after some two years at the 'little place,' are discovered to have almost forgotten the simple elements of learning. Then there will ensue another clatter of averages and statistics, and another cancelling of codes and certificates.—I am, &c.,

"H. T.

"September 26th."

impossible by examination, without arrangements too minute and expensive to be practicable, accurately to test individually the work done in the elementary schools of a great nation. To do this the following arrangements are indispensable:—An impartial examiner, on the entrance of each child (or within a short time afterwards—a week for example) must record its state of cleanliness, aptitude for school discipline and instruction, capacity, and actual acquirements. Then the inspector, having before him these facts, and the number of days which the scholar has attended in each month of the preceding year, might form an approximate opinion on the work done in the school. He would still be ignorant of the amount of hindrances in the home of the child, but he might accept *irregularity of attendance* as a scale with which to measure these. But it is obvious that any system so minute and delicate presents *insuperable difficulties, from the cost of the machinery required to carry it into execution.* If, therefore, the scale of capitation grant proposed in the Code were raised, a short analysis will shew how that change would operate.

How an increase of the scale of the capitation grant would operate.

According to the note at page 8 of the Code, a school of 100 children, under the average conditions of attendance ascertained by the Commissioners, would earn £64. 8s. 4d. But this note says that “fifteen shillings = 180 pence, may be earned “according to the proposed scale, by an attendance twice per “diem of 140 days.” Double the scale, and suppose a school with a settled population in a wealthy town, well organised for regular attendance, by the visitors of a religious congregaton sending the children early to school, and keeping them there five years during 150 days in the year. Then at least £140. of capitation grant might be earned.

The inequalities of the grants in different districts would be exaggerated. School in migratory manufacturing districts.

Suppose a school in a rude village of East Lancashire, with a migrant population constantly floating through it from the moors of the forests of Bowland and Pendle and the Pennine Chain, with scholars brutish, ignorant, irregular in attendance, without home training, with nothing but coarse or evil example; no sooner disciplined than they are removed. The

children would probably not attend 100 days on the average, if classed according to age, as proposed in the Revised Code. A large proportion of them would be unable to pass the examination in the three elements, at the standard of acquirement required, for want of previous training, consequent ignorance, and incapacity. As soon as they were partially reclaimed, they would often migrate. Such a school, needing aid much more than the former, would earn, perhaps, a fourth part of the double capitation grant. The one would have an extravagant grant; the other one quite insufficient for its wants.

A similar result would, probably, defeat the improvement of schools in the colliery and iron districts, in the Potteries, and in the worst parts of great cities. In the purely rural parishes of such counties as Dorsetshire, and other almost exclusively agricultural districts, the very early labour of the children on the farms, the interference of successive harvest and seed-times, makes school attendance so brief, and interrupts it by such long intervals, that the child's poor capacity for school work and learning are subject to constant drawbacks. Moreover, there is no help at home. His parents, though skilful in farm work, are unlettered, and in all other respects ignorant,—perhaps as superstitious as where the impostor Thom succeeded in deluding the peasantry in Kent, a few years ago. The progress of the young scholar, thus hindered, is very slow, and the results are meagre. But the teacher's work is not less real, and is more arduous than in schools more favourably placed for progress, though he may fail to pass many scholars through the examination in the Revised Code.

The best of these various classes of schools would earn at least three-fifths of the amount of the capitation grant (as estimated in the note at page 8 of the Code); the rest would get, some two-fifths, others one-fifth, and some might utterly fail.*

The doubling of the scale of the capitation grant in the Code would not get rid of these inequalities. One class of schools under that double scale would earn from £120. to

In mining, iron districts and Potteries.

In agricultural counties.

To double the scale of capitation grant would leave these inequalities unchanged.

* See Appendix A.

£140., another from £80. to £120., while many would not get more than £50. or £40., or even £30., for every hundred children, if the scale were doubled.

Ill effect of an arbitrary maximum.

To fix an arbitrary maximum beyond which no school could obtain any grant, would be simply to reduce the motives to exertion (presumed to be given by the Revised Code) in all schools in which this maximum was likely to be exceeded. That evil would be exaggerated by doubling the scale.

This argument might be pursued through every variety of change, with a similar demonstration of insuperable difficulties.

By what expedients a smaller capitation might be fairly administered with examination in the three elements.

Though the objections in principle to basing *a large part of the annual grants* to schools on the results of an individual examination of the scholars in the first three elements are thus *fundamental and insuperable*, it was intended by the minute of details contemplated in the last paragraph of the minute of the 2nd of April, 1846, to provide, to the extent of that supplementary grant, (1) for an examination of the scholars in reading, writing, and arithmetic, (2) and for an apportionment of the grant according to the results reported, having due regard to age, previous training, school attendance, and acquirements.

Design of last clause in Capitation Minute of April 2nd, 1853.

The design was *to encourage attention to these elements, and to test and reward success by an approximate estimate of the work done in the school. But it never was conceived that the work done would be tested by a classification of the scholars solely according to age, and an examination according to an arbitrary standard of acquirements in each group of age.*

I will state the details of the plan, and then shew that, on this plan, it would be impossible to determine the distribution of a large part of the annual grants to schools in different districts, without leaving too large a discretion to inspectors in considering circumstances necessary for the avoidance of very unequal results.

Details of the plan of examination under this Minute explained.

To describe the plan, may give it some appearance of complexity from which it would be free in practice.

The minute of details would have comprised the following arrangements:—

A schedule would be sent to the teacher a week prior to the inspector's visit, in which the teacher would enter the following particulars:—

The names of all the scholars, arranged in the classes in which the school is organised for daily instruction, but with each class subdivided into the following sections, viz.,—

Separate sections containing successively the names of the scholars in the class who had—

- (a) Attended at least 120 days in each of the two preceding years.
- (b) Attended at least 100 days in the preceding year only, or at least 80 days in each of the two preceding years.
- (c) Scholars who attended a shorter time than either of the two preceding classes.

The scholars in each section—(a), (b), (c)—would be entered in the order of seniority, the oldest first.

Then the following particulars would have been entered in successive columns with respect to each scholar:—His age; the time spent in any other inspected school in each of three or four years previous to his entrance; the number of days' schooling in each preceding quarter of the last year.

The schedule would then contain columns in which the inspector would mark, by numbers or letters, his opinion of the results of instruction of any scholar examined in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and a last column for his estimate of work done in all other subjects. He would not examine every child, but only so many as appeared to him necessary to test the state of the section of each class.

He would record his opinion at the foot of each class.

Then, as a summary of the whole, he could recommend one-third, two-thirds, or the whole capitation grant to be given to the school.

schedule placed
in Appendix B.

I place in an appendix (B) the form of the schedule, to make this statement more clear. The regulations as to school attendance, in the Minute of April 2, 1853, would have to be modified, if this scheme were made universal.

his scheme
more just than
that in Code.

If the capitation grant thus awarded were kept within moderate limits, and were accommodated, in the standard required, to the character of schools in different districts, according to their facilities for success, though it would still only imperfectly test the amount of the *work done* in each school, it would make a much closer approximation to justice than the plan proposed in the Revised Code.

difficulties
avoided by
adoption of this
scheme.

By limiting the capitation grant dependent on these results to 4s. 6d. per scholar, the following serious difficulties would be avoided. It would not be necessary—

1. To interfere with the augmentation grants to teachers suddenly or extensively.

2. Changes in the sources of the stipends of the pupil teachers might be made, adapted to the growth of local resources, upon conditions which would not cause alarm, because they would operate gradually.

3. The arrangement of the scholars in their ordinary classes, divided into sections according to the length of their school attendance; and the admission of a record of the amount of previous instruction in an efficient school would reduce the inequalities in the operation of a capitation grant in unsettled and uncivilised districts, and in those in which the attendance of children is much interrupted by labour, such as half-time in factories, work in mines, &c., and harvest and other work. The estimate of the school-work done would be founded on a consideration of all these elements. But it is clear that such discretion could not be allowed to operate if the capitation grant were large.

The inspectors should also have instructions to take into account the degree of civilisation in the district, and the period during which the school has had the services of a certificated teacher and pupil teachers. Here again, the fact that the

grant forms only a small part of the annual grants, would facilitate the exercise of such discretion, which would be impossible with a large capitation grant.

This plan differs from that in the Code—

1. In the mode of classification of the scholars for examination. The classification is not primarily by age. First, the scholars are grouped in their usual classes. Then each class is divided into sections corresponding to their periods of attendance in the school, and in each section the children are arranged according to age. The inspector thus knows how long the teacher has had them under his charge. Furth explanation.

The schedule also informs him how long they have been in any other efficient school, in each of four preceding years.

He is not to examine every scholar, but so many in each section as to enable him to test the condition of that section. He will enter the results in the proper columns for every scholar so examined.

He will then enter his opinion of each class in the school.

He will, finally, recommend one-third or one-half of the whole of the capitation grant of 4s. 6d. to be awarded.

Such duties would not make it impossible for the inspector to examine the religious and other instruction, as well as the three lowest elements, without devoting a very great increase of time to each school. It would, therefore, not be necessary to increase the number of inspectors so very much as the Vice-President states (p. 31) in his speech would have been "*unavoidable*" within the Code. Advantages in facilitating inspection.

The duties of the inspector under the Revised Code would have been most harassing to himself, and would have occasioned an amount of irritation and controversy between school-managers and the education department which cannot have been foreseen.

The unavoidable reduction in very many schools would have amounted to half the annual grants, in some to much more, and the average deduction would have been two-fifths. Irksome position of inspectors under Revised Code.

The inspector would have been the ostensible instrument of

this reduction. He has hitherto exercised greater influence on the improvement of the schools by his experience and conciliation of coöperative efforts, than by his power to recommend the withdrawal of the grants to the teachers and pupil-teachers for neglect and consequent unsatisfactory results, either in organisation, instruction, or discipline. His time under the Revised Code would be consumed in a mechanical drudgery which would necessarily withdraw his attention from the religious and general instruction, and from the moral features of the school. The organisation of the school could not be inspected, for it would be necessarily broken up into groups of age for the purposes of the examination. Scholars with attainments above the Code standard would be degraded to their groups of age, to be placed along with untaught savages, dullards, sluggards, and truants, unable to reach the standard. The managers and teachers would watch anxiously the trial of each child which was to determine whether twenty-five shillings or nothing was to be awarded to the school.

Difficulties even
of ordinary
inspection.

The scholars of elementary schools are often much disturbed during an inspection, because the examiner is a stranger. He speaks, perhaps, in the most encouraging way, but in a tone of voice, with words and a manner, to which they are not accustomed. The very refinement, gentleness, and scholastic accuracy of the inspector often puts them out. I have seen scholars examined one day by the curate in some part of one of the Gospels, and reply successfully to questions uttered by one with whose person, manner, voice, words, and method, they were quite familiar; and lamentably fail the next day, when questioned with perfect fairness by the inspector, who was a stranger.

But all inspectors are not perfect either in manner, utterance, choice of words for poor children—method of examining them; nor in the skill, kindness, and patience required to bring out the true state of the child's knowledge.

Difficulties
peculiar to the
examination

This applies forcibly to such elements as reading, writing, and arithmetic, even if the examination is restricted (as

apparently intended in the Revised Code) to the most mechanical results, without any examination in the meaning or grammar of what is read, or in that "logic of the poor"—arithmetic.

If an inspector enter a school with an abrupt manner and a harsh voice,—if he roughly interfere with the organisation,—scold one or two scholars,—or be hurried, for lack of time or patience,—he will never discover what the children know or can do in their school-work. They will be bewildered. He will get few juniors to read without strange hesitation and mistakes. Few will write correctly 1,000,003 from dictation. Very few will write with their usual skill. A large portion will fail in arithmetical trials, which they would have passed with ease if the clergyman or the master had examined them.

Thus the true state of the school is often not known to the inspector. Experienced inspectors make allowance for these hindrances, in their estimate of the state of the schools under the present form of inspection. That would not, however, be possible if an inspector had to deal with purely mechanical results, as in the examination in the Revised Code.

But when the results of the inspector's examination differed widely from that made during the preceding week by the clergyman and teacher, his function would be regarded as the instrument for disallowing the just claims of schools. It would soon become the most unpopular and irksome function in Great Britain. The Privy Council office would be worried with numerous and reiterated remonstrances.

The policy of investing the inspectors with such extensive administrative responsibility is in absolute opposition to all the previous maxims and experience of the department. The apportionment of the public grant has been reserved as the special function of the President and Vice-President, aided by their secretaries.

Even the Department itself has never exercised any authority so large as that with which it is now proposed to charge the inspectors. By their direct instrumentality, £175,000. would be, in the first year of the operation of the

under the Revised Code.

The true state of schools often known to the inspectors.

Extreme irritation which would be provoked by the inspectors' functions under the Revised Code.

Extreme impolicy of making inspectors to exercise a great external administrative function on the public grant.

Such authority over the grant has not even been exercised hitherto in the central office.

Code, withdrawn from the annual income of elementary schools. The acts of the inspectors in this operation are not to be subject to the review of the Office, except only under clause 46, section (e), if the inspector cancels the whole annual grant, "when there appears to be any *primâ facie* objection of a gross kind," or under the circumstances related in the note below.*

tations mis-
understandings
which would be
evaded.

This delegation of administrative authority over a large part of the grant to the inspectors would place them in a position challenging criticism, and so vexatious, from the great uncertainty of the resources of the managers of the schools under the Revised Code, as to provoke attacks upon their conduct of the examination and the justice of their decisions. The results of the examination of the managers, minister, or teacher, would be sent up to Downing Street in contrast with that of the inspector, and as a protest against it.

By limiting the direct operation of the inspector's discretion to 4s. 6d. per scholar, this jealousy would scarcely exist. The work done in the school would be more truly tested by the plan which I have proposed. In harmony with the organisation of the school, a limited capitation grant might be safely confided to the discretion of the inspector, to be distributed in the proportion of one-third, one-half, or two-thirds the grant for each scholar who had attended according to the conditions of a minute prepared for that purpose.

ount of loss in
annual grant
elementary
schools, as
reported by 523
schools.

The *abruptness of the change in the annual grants* may be estimated from the following returns, which have been furnished from 523 elementary schools, having on the average 66,375 scholars in attendance. These schools, last year, received £43,564. as grants. The capitation grant of the Revised Code would reduce this sum to £25,073., even *without*

* The grant is to be withheld altogether, "(a) if the school be not held in a building certified by the inspector to be healthy, properly lighted, drained, and ventilated; supplied with offices, and containing in the principal schoolroom 80 cubical feet of internal space for each child in average attendance;" and for other reasons, giving less scope to the inspector's discretion.

taking into account the reductions which are discretionary with the inspectors, or cannot be foreseen, under the 47th clause, or which result from clause 46. The estimated loss, nevertheless, amounts to £18,491. in one year's operation of the Code on 523 schools, or to a loss of more than two-fifths of the aid hitherto received. Probably the loss ascertained by more extensive data will not widely differ from this.

The abruptness of this change would tend to discourage, if not paralyse, the exertions of the promoters of schools, and especially of the clergy; for it would not be probable, if it were even possible, that, under all the varied circumstances of elementary schools, the two-fifths to be thus deducted in one year from the annual grants could be supplied from their local resources, and the one-fourth cut off from the income of training colleges could be raised by general subscriptions. (See Report of Royal Commission, pp. 144 & 145, vol. 1.)

One object of the *Revised Code*, viz., that of economising the public grant by developing local resources, would thus be certainly defeated by the abruptness of the demand on private contributions, and the perplexing and impracticable character of the scheme and its untried conditions.

The Parliamentary grant was not simply an instrument for creating, by a suitable training during apprenticeship and in the training college, the machinery of a system of education, and for the introduction of this machinery into elementary schools, on the conditions and by the aid of the annual grants. It was a powerful stimulant to private exertions and sacrifices. The £4,800,000. expended by the Government have called forth * double that sum. All the phenomena of activity in the founding and supporting of schools and training colleges owe two-thirds of their vitality to the Parliamentary grant of one-third, and would languish without it. To withdraw this grant abruptly, or any large portion of it, would produce a great shock. Many schools must perish if the annual grants hitherto

Consequences of the abruptness of this change.

Local resources would not be developed, but paralysed.

One main object of Parliamentary grant was to develop local exertions and contributions. Consequent success.

* See speech of Right Hon. Robert Lowe, M.P.

given were suddenly exchanged for the capitation grant under the Revised Code.

Effects on the
clergy who have
largely aided
parochial schools.

The Royal Commission confirms the report of Her Majesty's inspectors as to the extent of the sacrifices made by the clergy in rural districts for the support of parochial schools.* The

* "In the second place, the landowners do not contribute to the expenses of the schools so liberally as the wealthy classes in mining districts or large towns, so that the burden of supporting the schools falls principally on the parochial clergy, who are very ill able to support it. This is set in a strong light by a letter published in the appendix to Mr. Fraser's report, from which it results that £4,518. contributed by voluntary subscription, was derived from the following sources:—

	£.	£.	s.	d.
169 Clergymen contributed	1,782,	or	10	10 0 each.
399 Landowners	"	2,127,	"	5 6 0 "
217 Occupiers	"	200,	"	0 18 6 "
102 Householders	"	181,	"	1 15 6 "
141 other persons	"	228.		

"The rental of the 399 landowners is estimated at £650,000. a year."
—(Commissioners' Report, vol. i., p. 77.)

"The heaviness of the burden borne by the clergy is imperfectly indicated by such figures as these. It frequently happens that the clergyman considers himself responsible for whatever is necessary to make the accounts of the school balance; and thus he places himself towards the school in the position of a banker who allows a customer habitually to overdraw his account. He is the man who most feels the mischief arising from want of education. Between him and the ignorant part of his adult parishioners, there is a chasm. They will not come near him, and do not understand him if he forces himself upon them. He feels that the only means of improvement is the education of the young; and he knows that only a small part of the necessary expense can be extracted from the parents. He begs from his neighbours, he begs from the landowners. If he fails to persuade them to take their fair share of the burden, he begs from his friends, and even from strangers; and at last submits most meritoriously, and most generously, to bear, not only his own proportion of the expense, but also that which ought to be borne by others. It has been repeatedly noticed by the school inspectors, and it is our duty to state, that, as a class, the landowners, especially those who are non-resident (though there are many honourable exceptions), do not do their duty

note at the foot of this page shews the nature and extent of the strain on their private means. The reduction of two-fifths in the annual grants would often, if not in the great majority of cases, have to be made up by the parochial clergyman, or, if he were unable to make this further contribution, he would have to dismiss his pupil teachers, if he did not also lose the services of his certificated teachers.* Or, as an alternative (adopted with a personal disappointment which none who have not the life-work of a parish in hand can understand), he would convert it into an "Adventure school," conducted either by his certificated teacher or some untrained master, in which he would retain some influence by providing books and fuel, keeping the school premises in repair, and allowing the teacher to use them free of rent and taxes. The blow to the rural clergy would come so swiftly and suddenly as to stun them. They would in many cases abandon their hopeless struggle, and close their schools. When they had adopted one of the foregoing alternatives, they would inquire at the *Rural-decanal Chapters* whether this measure of public economy arose out of a jealousy espe-

Grave discouragement.
Or defeat.
Extreme discontent.

in the support of popular education; and that they allow others, who are far less able to afford it, to bear the burden of their neglect."—(Commissioners' Report, vol. i. p. 78.)

* A "*Poor Parson*" writes to one of the journals to ask how he can meet this abrupt change. He has schools with two certificated teachers and four pupil teachers. He can see no means of increasing the resources of his school from subscriptions. His two teachers receive from the Government £35, as augmentation, and £9. each for teaching two apprentices. The average stipend of the four apprentices is £60. The "*Poor Parson's*" own income is £70. He asks how he is to provide for the annual expenditure of the school, and to pay in weekly instalments £60. to the pupil teachers, besides the quarterly instalments of the teachers' salaries, even if a certainty existed of his being repaid. But with the exceeding uncertainty of the capitation grant, he says that he must dismiss the pupil teachers, and make his school a private speculation, conducted by his teachers, with a guarantee limited to the amount of his subscriptions. This is an example of a very large number of schools.

suspicion.

cially directed against their order.* Was the church, they would ask, absorbing a larger share of the Parliamentary grant by her zeal and wealth than was intended by the authors of the minutes of 1846 and 1853? Was it deemed to be a sound piece of State policy to conciliate the "voluntary" and the "secular" parties? Was there in the Privy Council office an impatience at the complication of the denominational system and its obstruction to civil liberty? Was it intended to pulverise the existing system by a crushing blow, so that when nothing was left as a memorial of it but its ruins, there might be built upon its dust and ashes a rate-supported secular system, in conflict with the schools which the Church and the religious communions, faithful to their principles, would struggle to maintain?

Apart from the embarrassment or destruction of the rural schools, the abruptness of the change will *everywhere* discourage instead of stimulating exertion. When two-fifths of

* The Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Carlisle (Dr. Waldegrave) commenced his primary visitation on Friday, in Carlisle Cathedral. Referring in his charge to the Revised Educational Code, he said:—

"I had intended to impress upon the clergy and laity alike the duty of availing themselves to the utmost of the aid accorded by Government to elementary schools, and I would not forbear now to exhort them to make use of it so far as they safely can. But six months ago I could have done so most heartily, and without a moment's hesitation, as I myself, as a parochial clergyman, learned to appreciate the system happily observed in the distribution of the Parliamentary grant. By that system local effort was provoked, and by that system the paramount importance of religious training was distinctly manifested, a failure in the Scriptural examination being in every case considered a fatal delinquency. Is it, my brethren, because the clergy have, by their persevering self-denial, attracted to their parish schools and to their training colleges a larger share of the public subsidies?—is it, in other words, because alarm has been taken by the enemies of the Establishment, that it has been resolved, at all hazards, to subvert the educational apparatus which, when impartially directed, worked so powerfully in favour of the National Church?—or is it because, irrespec-

the annual grants are in one year removed, there will be no hope, in the majority of cases, of making up, in one year, the deficiency.

tive of the proportion of aid, this vindication of the Church, which was inherent in our education, seemed likely to cover the land with a network of schools, in all of which distinctive religious training was recognised as a vital principle, and it was felt by the advocates of secular education that now or never must a stand be made in behalf of their baneful theory? I do not affirm that to either of these causes is to be ascribed, directly or indirectly, the preparation and promulgation of the now suspended, but not rescinded, Code of the 29th July. But I may say that that Code seems to be as near an approach as the circumstances would permit to the result which these causes would naturally produce. At any rate, I find a very great difficulty in believing that the apologists seriously regarded the reasons alleged as sufficient to justify the substitution of a system questionable in principle, and confessedly requiring so much modification in detail, for one which had already proved so advantageous to the country at large. But, leaving these surmises, I might dwell on the serious diminution of pecuniary aid which must in almost every case be experienced. The clergy contribute, as already I have pointed out, far beyond their measure to their parochial schools. Will they suffer these schools to go down without an effort? And can that effort be sustained without a serious increase of that disproportionate self-taxation? I trow not. But, again, I might advert to the heavy blow which the New Code deals to our infant schools—the most truly valuable of all educational appliances, whether in town or country. Further, again, I might call attention to the increased difficulty which our managers will have to contend with in their endeavour to keep pupils under instruction as they become older and more capable of profiting by the advantages of a good education; but I forbear, because it seems to me a duty of greater importance to warn you also in the cardinal matter of our religion, to which the Revised Code will be a double blow in our schools. In the first place, even as things are at present, a constant effort is required on the part of the managers to vindicate for Scriptural instruction and moral training their due prominence in the conduct of a school. Certificated masters have even now more inducement to look after intellectual display than spiritual tone, and they will have still more when the Bible is deliberately removed from the list of indispensable subjects of examination. The labour spent upon the examination in reading, writing, and

The questions presented to the managers of large poor town schools will rather be:—To what reduction of emoluments will the teachers submit? Will the certificated teachers accept their salaries without any, or with what, compensation for the augmentation and gratuities hitherto conditionally provided by the Government? Will the pupil teachers accept smaller stipends? Or can the services of one or more be dispensed with in future?† The confusion and embarrassment caused by these inquiries, and the extreme uncertainty in the amount

arithmetic will leave the examiner little time to inquire into those higher subjects on which no pecuniary results depend. In the second place, the Revised Code will, as indicated by Sir James Kay Shuttleworth in his Letter on the Report of the Education Commissioners, expose in many cases schools, in which a high moral standard is nevertheless maintained, to a most trying competition. Let me illustrate my meaning by an example. We will suppose that as a parochial minister, after much forbearance, I am satisfied that the continuance in his place of the master of my national school will do positive mischief; his doctrinal opinions are unsound, and his moral standard is low. The managing committee concur in my view of the case, and unanimously dismiss him from his situation. But there are among the inhabitants a party in his favour; he sets up in the immediate vicinity of my own body what the Royal Commissioners call a 'private adventure school.' His benches are filled by a large secession from my school. There may be no *prima facie* objections of a gross kind, or if the first inspector thinks so the second may reverse his decision. The Scriptures are learnt *pro forma*, and to comply with the terms of the Code three persons are designated to guarantee the receipt of the grant on behalf of the school. The reading and writing and ciphering are good, the capitation grant is earned and paid—in other words, Government assistance is diverted from the school in which the true welfare of the children is consulted to one in which the selfish interest of the teacher is the only governing idea." In concluding this part of his charge, the Right Rev. Prelate exhorted his clergy to let full and fearless Scriptural teaching be given in all their schools.

* This will certainly not be possible in the manufacturing and mining districts, nor in towns, without taking a lower class.

† This will be inevitable, with a consequent loss of efficiency and lowering of the level of instruction in the school.

of the capitation grant under the Revised Code, will be very unfavourable to the increase of private subscriptions. School pence cannot be suddenly increased without a reduction of the school income.

One of two courses might be pursued in the *restraint or reduction of the public grant*. The first course is to declare that the *children of parents supported by manual labour in Great Britain shall have a less costly education*,—all classes of their teachers shall be trained at less expense, and shall be worse paid, and be fewer in number, than they now are,—instruction shall be chiefly technical, and quite elementary.

Alternative courses of action
1. Reduction of cost and quality of education given to poor.

The second course is so to order any reduction of the public charge as that it shall not derange the existing machinery, or give the poor a lower class of instruction than they now have, while it tends to throw the charge of maintaining a system which has the cordial approbation of the Church and other religious communions more and more, in successive years, on the resources of Christian benevolence, and on the growing sense of the value of education among the parents of the scholars.

2. Gradual development of local resources without grave change of system.

The Revised Code appears to proceed on the presumption that the first course is the best. Its abruptness and its provisions tend, in the opinion of the representatives of the great education societies, "*to introduce into elementary schools a lower class of teachers, and to degrade the instruction in the schools.*"

Mischievous result of Revised Code.

But one-third of the annual grants might be, in ten years, derived from local resources without strain, if one-thirtieth part were deducted in each successive year, in order that it might be supplied by subscriptions, or school pence, as a condition of the payment of the remainder. A more rapid rate of reduction would cause more or less embarrassment, and would be less certain to secure the earnest coöperation of the clergy and laity in developing the local resources of schools.

One-third of annual grants might be charged on local resources in ten years.

To disgust and discourage the managers of schools, who raise

cause an abrupt and total change in every element of their position.

mples of
lar fallacies.

education of
per children
sted.

Similar error in the application of doctrines of pure economy to questions in which moral elements greatly predominate have been committed before. Thus because, at the time of the reformation of the relief of indigence, the children of independent labourers were either without schools, or in very bad schools, it was said that the pauper children in workhouses ought not to be well instructed, lest their better education should operate as an encouragement to pauperism. The fallacy here consisted not simply in a neglect of the consideration that education is the most efficient antidote to hereditary pauperism; but still more in a cynical and sceptical denial of all moral obligation on the part of the State to these children.

section of
men and
children from
excessive labour
sted.

In like manner, the protection of women, and of children under thirteen, from excessive labour in manufactories and mines, has been resisted as a violation of the principles of free trade. Trade, it is said, should be free from all State regulation. If this were so, trade might exist in slaves—or workmen might be reduced to the condition of serfs or slaves—or the physical and moral condition of the people might be subject to any degree of degradation, while the interference of the Government for the interests of the Commonwealth would be shut out by an inexorable abstract principle of political economy.

acy of
lication of
ciples of free
e to the
cation of
grant and
ivilised classes
osed.

The fallacy in the application of the principles of free trade to the education of the people resembles these. The Parliament and the Executive Government are the guardians of our mixed constitution,—they represent the nation, but they are collectively a power created by the people for the promotion and conservation of national interests. This central power is embodied in the word State. The central authority has a greater interest, collectively, in the intelligence and virtue of the people than any fragment of the nation can have. On that intelligence and virtue depend respect for the law,—the right discharge of civil functions and political franchises,—the

due subordination to authority,—the harmony of classes,—the development of the natural resources of the country and its power,—the increase of commerce, wealth, comfort, and national contentment,—the public spirit of citizens,—the valour of armies and navies,—and the national patriotism in sustaining the constitution alike against invasion and against internal corruption or revolution. But the education of the mass is not a want to be so felt, when ignorance and coarse habits prevail among them, as to create a supply by the act of the uneducated classes. Education infiltrates from the upper and governing classes to the lower. All civilisation is primarily the work of inventive genius. The lesson such minds have to teach is first imparted to the upper and governing classes. Its benefits descend from them to the lower. These uncivilised classes are trained by example and discipline; they are, as minors are, the care of the governing classes in some form,—they do not seek to be civilised and taught, as an original and irrepressible want, but they are sought by the missionary, by the teacher, by the agent of industrial progress, and they are rescued, not by their own act, but by that of the State and the upper classes, to whom their progress has become a social and political necessity. But the State—that is, the most able governing minds in the counsels of the sovereign power—is more likely to perceive this want of the commonwealth than even the middle classes; for the collective dangers from national ignorance and barbarism are greater, and the cost of national pauperism, crime, and disorder, are more apparent to the Government than they can be to individuals. Consequently, the education of the people has, throughout Europe, and in this country, originated in a great degree with the State. But if we were to suppose that education received no aid from the central authority, or the national resources from taxation, it would still be an error to speak of free trade in education. The several education societies certainly have a friendly rivalry in their efforts to found and support schools, and to attract children to them. The State in no way interferes

Sources of
civilisation
original g
and secon
from gove
classes an

Paramour
interest o
in the civ
of the peo

Education
trade.

and religious
ty in
ation are not
trade.

with their freedom in doing this; but it is not trade. This work is not done for pecuniary profit; it is done under the influence of a sense of moral and religious obligation, and a conviction that the wealth and strength of States, and domestic peace and prosperity, depend on the moral and intellectual elevation of the people. There is the utmost amount of civil and religious liberty for such efforts; there is no lack of freedom in such work, which however is not trade. To pretend that it is trade—and on that pretence to invoke the application of an abstract principle to shut out the aid of the State—is by a fallacy to attempt to limit the power of the State to promote the intelligence and virtue of the people, in which it has a larger stake than any fragment of the people, even than the Church established by law.

ed Code
ot, in whole
part, be
led by an
al to the
iples of
rade.

a
adiction of
ecedent
ish
manship as
ation.

It is impossible, then, to justify any part of the Revised Code by an appeal to the principles of free trade. The teachers of elementary schools have not, under the Minutes of 1846, been so much the subjects of "protection and bounties" as the masters of the endowed schools of Edward the Sixth and Elizabeth, or the masters or presidents and fellows of colleges, and the professors of universities. The creation of an efficient machinery for elementary education, by the apprenticeship of pupil teachers and the two years' training of Queen's scholars, and the security afforded to certificated teachers by a partial and conditional endowment of their schools, were in strict harmony with all English statesmanship since the Reformation.

ision of ideas
red in this
n of free

Were it possible to conceive that those who thus appeal to the principles of free trade had narrowed their conceptions of national education from the interests of the people to those of the schoolmaster, then their formula as to bounties and protection, though inapplicable to national interests, would at least be intelligible. They would say—It is inexpedient to protect by endowment the schoolmaster who has been reared by the influence and aid of the State,—it is better that he should be wholly dependent on the managers of schools.

But, in the first place, this—under the Revised Code—is not an accurate statement of the fact. Though the master is to make his bargain with the managers, they are to be aided by the State to pay him. The change, therefore, does not consist in the withdrawal of endowments.

The annual grants are now made to the managers, though their apportionment is defined. The managers, under the Revised Code, are to have more discretion in this matter. The pretence of the absence of bounty and protection in the Code, therefore, arises from a confusion of ideas. The managers would receive a reduced *bounty*, and would still be thus *protected*, though in a less degree. *There would, therefore, be no free trade in schools. Those which had certificated masters and pupil teachers would receive the bounty and protection of the capitation grant.* The transference of protection would be at the expense of the certificated teacher. He would have to make the best bargain he could with managers at a time when one-third of their annual school income—viz., that received in annual grants—would be reduced two-fifths. *This is the free trade of the Revised Code.*

But if to regard the principles of all promotion of elementary education as identical with those of freedom in trade be erroneous, have the certificated teachers acquired any legal or moral claim to the continuance of their conditional grants in aid of local resources? The Royal Commission reports:—
 “It may be said that the State has excited expectations in the minds of the teachers by the system of augmentation grants, which give them a moral right to their continuance; but we do not think that this is really the case. The fact that the present system is supported by sums voted annually, and not by a permanent charge on the consolidated fund, shows that the State is not pledged to its permanence. Indeed, it is notorious that it has grown up by degrees, and that ever since its origin the propriety of replacing or altering it has been under discussion. The arrangement by which a certain portion of the grant is appropriated to the augmentation of

There will be free trade in schools under the Revised Code.

The managers of schools will have a “bounty” and protection reduced two-fifths below the amount of annual grants.

"the teacher's salary, is an arrangement between the State and the managers, not between the State and the teachers; and it is for the benefit of the school, not for the benefit of the teachers. At present the average emoluments of certificated masters of all classes and denominations are £97., which considerably exceeds the amount which can be said to be in any sense guaranteed to the holders of certificates; nor is there any reason to believe that the managers of schools, under the modified system, would desire to reduce the salaries of their teachers."—(*Commissioners' Report*, vol. 1, p. 149.)

position of
certificated
teacher under the
Revised Code.

In order to ascertain whether the opinion thus given by the Commissioners is applicable to the position of the certificated teacher under the Revised Code, it is desirable first to define, as accurately as possible, what that position would be as contrasted with what it now is. The augmentation grants, and the gratuities for instructing pupil teachers, hitherto conditionally paid to certificated teachers by the Committee of Council on Education, are withdrawn. The total annual reduction of these direct payments to them would be £98,171. 5s. for the augmentation grants, and about £62,000. for teaching 15,500 apprentices, calculated at £4. gratuity for each. The number of certificated teachers actually teaching is said to be 7,711; therefore the grants withdrawn would amount to upwards of £20. each. The reduction of direct grants would, however, be more than this sum for masters, and less for mistresses. Thus masters might have their salaries from all sources reduced from the average of £94. to £65. or £70.; mistresses, from £62. to £44.; and infant mistresses, from £58. to £40.

amount of the
annual
grants for
masters
withdrawn.

are the
chances that this
reduction would be
made up by
the managers?
amount of
loss of
the managers,
if their
salaries to pupil
teachers.

The "protection" thus afforded by the State being withdrawn, what are the chances that this reduction would be made up by the managers?

School managers have, in the first place, to provide for a loss to their schools of £175,000. in the annual grants. They have further to pay weekly in advance the stipends of 15,500 pupil teachers, or $(15,500 \times £15.)$ £232,500. annually, before

they receive the capitation grant, which implies this reduction of £175,000. from the sum which they have hitherto received in annual grants. This double operation is to occur in one year. First, £232,500. are to be paid, in the hope of an uncertain return; and then, £175,000. of the annual grants are to be withheld.

In Appendix A it will be seen that this would affect schools in very different degrees. The positive ultimate reduction in schools in different districts, would vary from nothing to one-fifth; one-third; two-fifths; one-half; three-fifths; or three-quarters of the grants hitherto annually received.

In some cases, especially where the clergy had hitherto made up the annual deficiency in the school income from scanty personal resources, the school would be closed;—or the teacher could receive nothing in lieu of his augmentation or gratuity. Often the aid of pupil teachers would be given up. Very generally, if not universally, their number would be diminished.

The embarrassments in the finances of schools could not, however, be measured by these two elements. If pupil teachers were not apprenticed to the teachers, they would be much less amenable to discipline. Their motives for a steady perseverance in their engagements would be incalculably reduced by the great uncertainty introduced into the position of the certificated teachers. Bound only by an agreement with the managers, terminable on notice, they would soon become dissatisfied with stipends one-third below the market value of their labour in the manufacturing and mining districts. The caprice of youth would have its way. Not half of them—perhaps not above one-third—would persevere to the end of their five years' service. Consequently, as the Revised Code produced its inevitable results, the school would approach more and more to the condition of the monitorial schools superseded by the system of pupil teachers. At every step of this decline, the efficiency of the school, for all purposes, would be impaired. The energies of the teacher would be taxed in proportion as

Amount of
reduction in
different dis

Schools clos
pupil teache
given up, or
diminished
number.

Numerous
embarrassm
of schools, a
certificated
teachers.

Altered posi
prospects, a
conduct of p
teachers.

his assistants were inexperienced, ill-instructed, unskilful, insubordinate, and childish. Even the number of these stipendiary monitors would often be reduced for want of school-funds. At the time when his salary was both reduced and uncertain his task would be made intolerable. With the worse condition of the school, both subscriptions and school-pence would fall off.

The position of the teacher, with respect to the managers, would become extremely irksome. The amount of the capitation grant, with his reduced and ill-paid staff of half-mutinous assistants, would be dependent mainly on his personal exertions. Whatever his conceptions as to the most powerful agencies to civilise and Christianise his rude scholars, he would have to work like a horse in a gin-wheel, at the routine of teaching the elements, according to the mechanical standard of the Revised Code. Reading would be taught with mechanical fluency, even if the children (like many Welsh and some Caffre and Indian scholars) understood little or nothing of what they read. Writing would be learned according to the Code standard, though lessons in dictation and composition were disused. Such last-named lessons would fall out of the observation of the inspector for want of time, while he examined the scholars' mechanical skill in forming letters. The religious instruction and the moral training of the scholars, which the Royal Commission declare to be so satisfactory, must yield to the paramount necessity of earning a larger capitation grant, by the success of the scholars in attaining the mechanical standard of the Revised Code.

These circumstances would altogether change the relations of the teacher with the managers. Every act of his school discipline and instruction might alter the annual result. Some managers would try to make the teacher's salary mainly dependent on this result; some would insist on his teaching an evening school—hitherto forbidden—in order to augment the grant. Then the five hours' instruction of the pupil-teachers would be a farce. The regulations which thus reduce the instruction

of pupil-teachers from seven and a half hours weekly to five, and permit this to be given in the evening school, are utterly inconsistent with all the antecedent minutes of the Committee of Council. They look like a sneer at the care with which the teacher's health was "protected" from overwork, and at the solicitude with which the training and instruction of the apprentices were provided for by the minutes which they repudiate and contradict.

Code repudiates and contradicts prior protection of health of teacher, &c.

The theory of schools under the administration of the Education grant, hitherto, has been, that it was necessary to create a machinery of education capable of exerting considerable religious and moral influence in the civilisation of the people;—that it was expedient to protect and encourage the teacher as the agent of this change,—to place him in close relations with the religious organisation of the country, and to uphold him in a position above that of a needy dependent;—that the staff of unpaid or ill-paid monitors, under thirteen years of age, previously employed, should be displaced, and in their room apprentices introduced, who should be most carefully trained. There is the authority of the Vice-President for saying that these pupil teachers have more than earned their stipends by their services in the schools, when they do not enter the training colleges. The teacher thus aided was not to be worn out prematurely by a coarse, ill-aided and ill-paid drudgery. That, however, would be his fate under the Revised Code.

Theory of schools under previous Minutes contrasted with that of the Revised Code.

Fate of the teacher under the Revised Code.

It is in the contrast of these two positions that the breach of faith with the trained certificated masters consists, rather than in the exact technical form in which their engagements as pupil teachers and Queen's scholars, or students, have been assumed. Undoubtedly, the Revised Code would reduce the teachers' salaries; would load them with ill-aided work; and worsen, in all respects, that position in which it has hitherto been the object of the Government to place them. *A large part of this evil is the simple and direct consequence of the abruptness of the change.* Thus defined, the effects of

In what the breach of faith with the certificated teacher in the Code consists.

the Revised Code would amount to an unexampled breach of public faith with a most meritorious class.

Explanation of inapplicability of argument of Royal Commission to the Code.

That the arrangement as to stipend was made between the State and the managers,* as pleaded by the Royal Commission, is unimportant, if it was made *on the condition and with perfect security that the money should be paid to the teacher*. Then, also, it is for the "benefit of the school;"† but that benefit is to be derived through the teacher, whose remuneration was thus protected,—not simply by the grants, but by all the conditions binding the managers. The last plea of the Commissioners, that the average actual salaries exceed those guaranteed as a condition of the augmentation grants, has no application whatever to an abrupt change, which would shake the stability of all school arrangements, and probably reduce their salaries below that level; nor does it apply to a scheme which worsens the condition of the teacher, *not merely in income*, but in the quality and number of his assistants; in the amount and value of his work; in his relations to the manager of schools; and, necessarily, in his social position: a scheme which converts him into an ill-paid and overworked drudge.

The annual character of the subsidy may justify a gradual change made with care so as to protect the certificated teacher in his entire position.

"The fact that the present system is supported by sums "voted annually, and not by a permanent charge on the Consolidated Fund,"‡ and that the arrangements have "grown up "by degrees," and have been liable to changes moderate and harmonious in character, might be pleaded in favour of some change which would operate gradually, and thus give time for the development of those local resources which, if subjected to an abrupt and harsh blow, would rather dwindle under discouragement, or perish in panic.

The managers of schools, as the Royal Commissioners anticipate,§ have no desire to alter the social position, the duties, or the remuneration of the teachers of schools; and they will probably resist with a rare unanimity the disastrous revolution threatened by the Revised Code. But the same

* Page 149. + Page 149, Report, vol. 1. † Ibid. § Ibid.

solicitude and zeal would exhibit themselves, in harmony with the Committee of Council on Education, if they were called upon to augment by moderate annual increments the local resources of schools, so as to maintain in their present position the whole staff of teachers and apprenticed pupil teachers, with a corresponding reduction of the amount of the annual grants.

I have already stated that one-thirtieth part of these annual grants to teachers and pupil teachers might be cut off every year, until in ten years one-third had been reduced. As each thirtieth part was reduced, the remainder would, on this plan, be granted, on condition that the fractions withdrawn should be furnished from local resources. All the conditions of these grants would remain otherwise unaltered. The stipends of all classes of teachers, and their relative positions to each other,—to the managers, the inspector, and the Committee of Council on Education, would remain unchanged.

This was one of those restraints on the growth of the Education grant referred to in the letter which I addressed to your Lordship on the 24th of April, 1861, when I anticipated that the “increase” of “the public grant” might, after providing for evening schools and for the apathetic districts, “not only be arrested, but this annual aid might be converted into an instrument, in the hands of skilful administrators, by which “all the rest of the work may be done in the most apathetic “as well as in the most earnest districts.”

The development of the whole scheme of such arrangements would require separate treatment. I allude to them now only because the gradual change in the administration of the annual grants to schools is an illustration of the principle which such a scheme would embody.

The effect of the Revised Code on the position and training of pupil teachers having been incidentally referred to, a brief recapitulation only is necessary here.

1. The stipend of the pupil teachers is, as a direct consequence of clause 47 (b), to be reduced from an average of £15.

In what way gradual change might be effected.

Restraint on the increase of the public grant desirable, and may be at once applied, and long be effective.

Effect of the Revised Code on the position and training of teachers.

Reduction of average stipend one-third.

to one of £10. per annum.* Pupil teachers could not be obtained on these terms in the manufacturing and mining districts. For example, a girl can earn 12s. per week in the cotton district when she can manage two power-loom; at sixteen or seventeen, by managing three looms, she can often earn 16s.; at eighteen she can gain 18s. with four looms, and if working *barèges*, she can secure a guinea as weekly wages. Young men can of course earn as much. The reduction of the average stipend in such districts in itself amounts to the substitution of stipendiary monitors, on short engagements of one or two years, for pupil teachers, with an apprenticeship and training of five years. In rural districts and small agricultural towns and villages, the reduction of the stipend would at once preclude the realisation of the hope entertained, especially in the case of girls,† that apprentices might be derived from well-ordered homes of the middle classes. This hope is legitimate if due care be taken to insist on every precaution to shut out those who have bodily defects, or are feeble in health or intellect. With a rigid examination of candidates, the realisation of this hope would be an unequivocal advantage.

Reduction of
time for
instruction, and
license to give it
in the evening
school.

2. The reduction of the time during which the certificated teacher is required to instruct his apprentices, from seven and a half hours to five, and the permission granted that this instruction may be conducted in an evening school, would lower the tone and amount of the pupil teacher's instruction, if the provision as to the evening school were practicable—which it is not.

Withdrawal of
pecuniary value
from certificate
would cut off best
candidates, and
discourage pupil
teachers.

3. The withdrawal of all pecuniary value from the certificate would prevent the apprenticeship of the most desirable candidates, and greatly discourage the application of pupil teachers to their preparatory studies. Such of them as gained Queen's scholarships would rarely, if ever, remain more than one year in the training college. Many would not go to the training

* Revised Code, clause 47 (b); also clause 80.

† See the Pamphlet of Miss Burdett Coutts, II., clauses 118 and 119.

college at all, but would avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them by the Code* to take charge of rural schools, and to get a certificate at 21 years of age by examination.

Taking all these provisions in connection with the pecuniary embarrassments of the school managers, the Revised Code undermines the whole system of apprenticeship, if it does not, by the abruptness and harshness of the blow, at once destroy it.

The disallowance of the grants towards the salaries of lecturers in training colleges operates in the same direction. The Royal Commissioners † “do not recommend any reduction of aid at present given to the colleges in various forms.” ‡ “It may be asserted that, though the money is well spent, and though the relation between the Government and the training colleges is satisfactory, the assistance given discourages private liberality, and that the withdrawal of a part of it would be compensated by private subscriptions. We (the Commissioners say) do not agree in this opinion. It appears probable that considerable difficulty would be found in obtaining subscriptions enough for these institutions. Private benevolence usually operates rather to relieve the evils which directly excite sympathy and attract attention, than to prevent their occurrence by contributing to the removal of their remote causes.” “|| Some conveniences are attached to the present state of things. No other institutions stand so much in need of a permanent income and of a considerable degree of Government supervision, which, of course, can only be had at the expense of Government grants. To ascertain and to regulate the principles on which teachers should be trained is a difficult process, and requires the light of long and varied experience. If every training college was self-supporting, and was entirely regulated by its own subscribers or committee, they would vary far more than they do now, and would lose the great benefits which they at present

Disallowance of grants towards salaries of lecturers in training colleges.
Royal Commissioners do not recommend any reduction of aid to training colleges. Their reasons.

* Clauses 118 and 119. † Report of Royal Commission, Vol 1, p. 143; and again p. 148. ‡ Ibid, p. 144. || Ibid, 145.

"derive from the common course of examination imposed upon the students by the syllabus, and from the experience which the inspectors derive from their annual visits, and make public in their reports."

Other reductions of aid to training colleges, and clauses of Revised Code which indirectly cripple their resources.

Consequences—degraded curriculum and inferior instruction.

Signs of an intention to give the poor a worse education.

Royal Commission approve plan of rearing apprentices; and of training Queen's scholars in colleges. Their opinion of the intellectual and moral training in the colleges.

The repeal of auxiliary grants by Revised Code, limitations and diminutions in the supply of students directly* and indirectly, and the reduction of the period of training, all operate to cripple the resources of the colleges. Therefore, if the grants to lecturers be withdrawn, the whole, or most of the lecturers, will be removed. This result will be consistent only with a lower level of instruction. Such a result cannot have been foreseen without an intention to degrade the curriculum of study. The Queen's scholars and students would thus not merely remain in college only half the time hitherto occupied with their training, but would be taught by a less numerous and an inferior, because worse paid staff,—the work would be reduced, and a lower range of attainment would be required. This degradation of the level, and diminution of the time of the instruction of the Queen's scholars and students, is in harmony with the policy adopted towards the apprenticed pupil teacher. Together they must be accepted as signs of a deliberate intention to put the education of the poor, under the Revised Code, into the hands of teachers whose knowledge, experience, aptitude, and skill, are all of a much lower order than those of the present certificated teachers and their assistants.

Yet the report of the Royal Commission supports the present scheme of rearing the apprentices in schools, and of training the Queen's scholars in colleges. It shews (p. 65) "the great popularity of the certificated teachers, and especially of the "certificated mistresses." Uninspected schools are said to be not so liberally supported as the inspected schools (p. 64):—"To lower the standard of popular education throughout the country by discouraging the employment of trained teachers, "would be fatal." (p. 155.) "The training given in the col-

* Revised Code, Clause 97.

“leges is, on the whole, sound, though there are several drawbacks to its value.” (p. 138.) “On the whole, however, we have expressed a favourable opinion of the intellectual training of the students. The moral condition of the colleges, especially of the female colleges, appears to be satisfactory.” (p. 168.) In these opinions we were fortified by the evidence as to the moral and intellectual character of those who, having passed through the training colleges, were found by our witnesses in the actual charge of schools. We cited from that evidence abundant proof that the trained teachers not only are comparatively far superior to the untrained, but are in every respect but one positively good.” (p. 168.) That defect is the teaching of the three lowest elements, and the Commissioners attribute it “not to want of power, but to want of motive.”

Concerning pupil-teachers, the Commissioners say—“Almost all the evidence goes to prove that the effect of the presence of pupil-teachers upon the condition of the schools is very beneficial, especially when it is compared with the influence exercised over the schools by monitors.” (p. 102.) “The evidence of the Assistant-Commissioners is unanimous as to the superiority of schools in which pupil-teachers are employed.” (p. 103.) “Of the whole number of pupil-teachers, 87·32 per cent. successfully complete their apprenticeship; and 76·02 per cent. become candidates for Queen’s scholarships, which most of them obtain. The 11·3 per cent. who do not become candidates for Queen’s scholarships, include those who either adopt other pursuits or follow the calling of a schoolmaster without going through the course of instruction given in the training colleges.” (p. 107.) The Commissioners then shew that this 11·3 per cent. have rendered, “year by year, services for the salary received,” and “that this salary is presumably not excessive, inasmuch as they might earn more in other callings.” (p. 107.) The Commissioners in their recapitulation (section vi., art. 2) further say—“We have shewn that the pupil-teachers’ action on the scholars is eminently beneficial, but more on the higher

Their opinion of the pupil teachers, and their beneficial influence on the schools.

The overthrow of this machinery a consequence of the Revised Code.

“and middle classes than on the lower.” (pp. 166, 167.) Yet the overthrow of the whole of this machinery is certain under the Revised Code. The financial embarrassments of school managers are interwoven with those of the teachers and pupil-teachers in such a way as to operate with a most pernicious, if not fatal, effect on elementary schools. The lower social and moral condition of future Queens' scholars,—their inferior capacity and attainments,—the cutting off of 10 per cent. in the number allowed to each college,—the reduction of the duration of their training one-half,—the repeal of auxiliary grants, and the limitations and diminutions of the supply of students, directly and indirectly,—all form elements of a fatal disorder in the training colleges. A lower curriculum will be adapted to the inferior training of the Queen's scholars. One-half the colleges must be shut up, or a double supply of teachers poured upon the country not half trained yet to compete with the well-trained certificated teachers, by taking lower salaries, and so to aid that competition in driving them to better remunerated occupations.

These changes would cause the present system to be displaced by that discredited system which preceded it.

The administration in central office said to be complicated and cumbersome.

This would not be remedied by the Revised Code.

These changes could not occur without the ruin of the present system of elementary education. They would cause it to be displaced by one closely resembling that which preceded it. What are the advantages which it is conceived would be purchased by this disastrous revolution?

It is said that *the administration in the central office is so "complicated and cumbersome"* that the system threatens "to break down at the centre." If it were so, the Revised Code would only give it partial relief in one way—in the annual grant department—to bury it under an angry storm of controversial remonstrance against the inspector's awards of the capitation grant. The relief which the Revised Code gave in the central office would be purchased, as the Vice-President says (p. 31), by an "*unavoidable*" increase in the number of assistant inspectors. In other words, the clerks of the Education department would be replaced by inspectors, whose emoluments and expenses would in each case be three or four

times as great. *The duties of the inspectors would not be simplified*; they would be degraded into a complicated and cumbersome daily drudgery, as wearisome as picking oakum. *The system would then break down in its limbs.* Scholars and gentlemen would scarcely spend their lives in examining nearly a million of poor children in their imperfect skill in what is purely mechanical in reading, writing, and arithmetic. But when it is asserted that the work of the office is too complicated and cumbersome, I reply—that one day's work in the General Post Office involves more complication, and is encumbered with more details, than one whole year's work in the Education department. That which is most complained of—the payment of individual teachers and assistants by money-orders—is in fact mainly effected by the Post Office Money-order department, and is an insignificant part of its enormous load of work; yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer is now wisely attempting, at the expense of an immense increase of this complication, to convert the Money-order department into a National Savings Bank of shillings. In like manner, it might be shewn that the complaint of complication and burthen of work will bear no comparison with the administration of the Admiralty, with a navy scattered over the whole world. The reserve, the coast guard, the dock yards, arsenals, hospitals, pensions, courts-martial, promotion, and the whole theory of naval construction in a state of transition,—certainly cumber the Admiralty with a complicated burthen. Nor could the work be for one moment compared with that of the office of the whole War departments: directing the regiments of the line and militia; inspecting the new battalions of volunteers; with the ordnance; the citadels of Great Britain and the Mediterranean; with the forces scattered through the colonies; the examinations for commissions; the recruiting department; the depôts; hospitals; the pension list; normal and model schools, and barracks-schools; and the colleges of staff, engineer, and artillery officers.

An addition to the present buildings of the Education

How the system of the Code would break down.

The work of Central Office infinitely less complicated and heavy than that of the Post Office.

Or of the Admiralty.

Or of the several War departments.

How the administration in the Central Office may be simplified and the work lessened.

department is needed, in order conveniently to concentrate the work under one roof: the Examiners' department may be simplified by being reduced to a system of checks; an Inspector-General is required to hold the inspection well in hand, while more discretion is given to experienced inspectors; a permanent Vice-President is needed, to preserve intact the traditions of the office, and give unity of principle to all changes. The labour of making individual payments of money, which seems a great bugbear, may be minimised by transmitting the annual grant in one sum to the correspondent of each school, provided each recipient to whom its portions are allotted sign a receipt in the schedule of the annual grants awarded.

The complaint of complication and load of work is to be met by an enlargement of the building adapted to this national work; the concentration of the responsibility for the inspector's work in an inspector-general, might relieve the office of a mass of details; the money payments may be simplified; the Examiners' work greatly reduced. No doubt many other like changes might be made.

The plea of the expense of the present system, and its tendency to increase.

2. The expense of the present system, and its tendency to increase, might be pleaded in favour of a system of economy of the public grant. I have already shewn that the reduction projected under the Revised Code is so ill contrived that it would simply disorganise and ruin the schools which now exist. But it is desirable to ascertain on what principle, and in what way, the growth of the Education grant can be restrained so as to avert such disastrous results as the catastrophe prophesied by Dr. Temple. Of those who are alarmed at the tendency of the public grant to increase, the Royal Commission are the most moderate and reasonable representatives.

The estimate of the Royal Commission as to the ultimate amount of the public grant for education.

They say—"According to the most careful estimate we have been able to make, which is based upon a calculation of an increase in the number of pupil teachers, and in the augmentation grant, the extension of the general system to the whole country would cost about £1,300,000., if the unassisted

"public schools alone were brought under it. If the scholars in private schools were added, the sum would amount to about £1,620,000. And supposing an increase in the number of scholars of 20 per cent., in consequence of an improvement in attendance, it would be increased to about £1,800,000 yearly. To this sum, if the present system were unaltered, would have to be added a capitation grant for 2,300,000 children; and at the present rate of attendance, which is an increasing one, at least 800,000 of these would earn 6s. a head. This would make the whole grant amount to nearly £2,100,000. a year." (Commissioners' Report, p. 314.)

The Commissioners contrast this estimate with my own, that with a full provision for aid in the creation and support of evening schools, and in the spread of the whole system to the apathetic districts, the public grant for education might be kept within £1,000,000. per annum, or at the utmost, £1,200,000. I expressed this opinion in my Letter to your Lordship of the 24th April, 1861, in the following words:—

"The force which will ultimately transform the whole will be the result of education itself. When the people know that they have even more interest in the education of their children than their rulers have, they will more and more take charge of it. They now bear two-thirds of the burthen; but that third which they do not pay has given value to what before was of little worth, and has thus created a transient power destined to pass from the Government into the hands of those who will take the charge. The transference of administrative power to the local managers and the parents will attend the gradual assumption by them of the payment of the pupil teachers, and of the whole of the stipends of the certificated teachers, consequent on the effects of education on some generations of parents, and on the middle classes.

"The Parliamentary grant has hitherto been so administered by the Committee of Council as to stimulate the invest-

The Royal Commission contrast this estimate that given in own evidence

Estimate in Letter of 24th April, and principle administrative to be adopted to restrain the growth of the public grant.

“ment of large sums in school buildings, by giving about one-third of their value. Between 1839 and 1860, grants amounting to £1,076,753. have caused an investment of subscriptions amounting to £2,360,226. in school buildings, or altogether of £3,436,226. The grant has also promoted the rapid growth of the annual income of schools, by subsidies at a similar rate of one-third the whole annual outlay, so that probably two millions annually are now expended in the support of schools. The public grant may in a few years increase with corresponding results to £1,000,000. or £1,200,000., making in its progress adequate provision for the education of youth from school-age to manhood; but at that point, by well-devised antecedent expedients, its increase may not only be arrested, but this annual aid may be converted into an instrument, in the hands of skilful administrators, by which all the rest of the work may be done in the most apathetic as well as in the most earnest districts. That result attained, a new series of operations may commence, by which the charge of public education may be gradually transferred from the Consolidated Fund to the local sources of income, school-pence and subscriptions.”

alternatives:
The Revised
e; or the
throw of the
ting system
the adoption
ne like that
sh preceded it.

Now, what are the alternatives to the adoption of such a system?

First, we have the scheme of the Revised Code. This may be briefly described as an attempt to reduce the cost of the education of the poor, by conducting it by a machinery—half trained and at less charge;—to entrust it to a lower class of ill-paid teachers, and generally to young monitors as assistants;—to neglect the force of a higher moral and religious agency in the civilisation of the people,—and to define national education as a drill in mechanical skill in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The State would pay less, and be content with a worse article. The cheapness of the result would, however, be no measure of its value,—it would be almost worthless. There is too clear and faithful a sense of duty in the Church and religious com-

munions to acquiesce in such a scheme. It comprises impracticable details. It is an abrupt revolutionary change from all the traditions of the departments, and is destined to fail.

Secondly, *the notion of the practicability of a rate-supported system has been refuted by repeated careful investigation and experiment.* Sir James Graham's Education clauses in the

2. Rate-sup system of education has to be impos

Factories' Regulation Act failed in consequence of the united opposition of non-conformists. These clauses were framed on the basis of toleration,—they gave as much authority to the Church as was consistent with complete civil and religious liberty within the school. Churchmen reluctantly assented to them, and they were almost universally rejected by dissidents from her communion. The subsequent bills, for the partial support of education from the rates, were intended to operate in harmony with the minutes and administration of the Committee of Council on Education. They failed from two causes: from the suspicion with which all the religious communions shrink from giving even the shadow of authority in schools to the representatives of the ratepayers; and secondly, from the indisposition of the Town Councils, and other representative bodies, to permit the total or partial transference of the burthen of public education—with only limited authority over its administration—from an assessment of 550 millions on which the Consolidated Fund is charged, to that of 86 millions, from which the local taxes are raised. The proposal of the Royal Commission, as to county rates, was also wrecked upon this rock.

Successive measures for education re described—causes of fa

Thirdly, there remains *the expedient of devising measures for the restraint of the growth of the public grant without destroying the efficiency of the existing system;* while due provision is made for the extension of the system, with necessary modifications of detail, to rural parishes with very limited population,—to districts apathetic on account of the non-residence of proprietors, and the humble intelligence and means of the tenantry,—and to the worst parts of great towns and cities.

3. Measures restraint of public gran consistently efficiency of present syst and with su extension o is still requ

I have already given a statement with respect to the mode

ited capi-
on grant, and
le of reducing
ual grants
third, pre-
sly described.

operation of
scheme, and
effect of its
nsion to all
grants.

of administering a limited capitation grant, so as to secure attention to the three lowest elements, and another as to the mode of reducing the annual grants to schools one-third, so as to cause a supply from local resources of the money thus withdrawn.

This reduction of the annual grants was proposed to be effected in equal annual instalments in ten years. In like manner the whole of the grants might be reduced gradually by equal annual diminution, on condition that the sums withdrawn should be supplied from local resources. Thus, in fifteen years, the proportions of the whole grant to the whole money raised locally might be changed from the present ratio of one-third grant and two-thirds private funds, to the proportion of one-fourth of Parliamentary aid to three-fourths of voluntary contributions. Applying this ratio to the extension of education to the whole of England and Wales—the Commissioners say that, “in round numbers, the annual grants in “1860 promoted the education of about 920,000 children, while “they leave unaffected the education of 1,250,000 others of “the same class.” Accepting this statement as the basis of calculation, let us suppose that in fifteen years the present system could be extended so as to include these 2,170,000 children. The annual cost of this education, at 28s. per scholar, would be £3,038,000. annually. The present Parliamentary grant of £750,000. would provide for the whole of this extension, if the proportions of all the grants were altered from one-third to one-fourth gradually, by equal annual reductions, which would proceed *pari passu* with the whole phenomena of extension. Two millions and a quarter would thus be raised locally, to meet three-quarters of a million of public grants. One great source of the increase of local funds would consist in a gradual growth of income from school-pence. This would arise both from somewhat larger weekly payments and more regular attendance. If the average attendance of each scholar became thirty-six weeks annually, an advance of one penny per week in the school-pence of two millions of scholars would

produce £300,000. This result may be attained without doubt in fifteen years. Three-halfpence advance, weekly, would produce £450,000. annually.

The principle of the change by which the growth of the public grant might be restrained, is sufficiently indicated in these arrangements. There is but one alternative. Either the education of the poor must be worsened; in proportion as it costs the State less; or the restraint on the growth of the public grant, and the reduction of its proportions to private contributions, must be so ordered that Christian benevolence and the sense of duty in parents may have time to step in, and gradually sustain, by increased subscriptions and school-pence, the efficiency of schools.

The Government is responsible for the present character of schools in all their details. It invented the pupil-teacher apprenticeship, and the training colleges. It convinced the religious communions, by the earnest advocacy of its own authorised agents, that the education of the poor ought to be raised to its present standard. It has vigilantly superintended the execution of its minutes by its own inspectors. At any moment it might have required more drill in elementary subjects by schoolmasters. One circular letter would have ensured the closest attention to the subject. It even neglected to carry into execution the last clause of the minute of the 2nd of April, 1853, devised for this express purpose, in schools which might obtain that capitation grant. The whole curriculum of study has been regulated by its examinations of the training colleges, of certificated teachers, and of pupil-teachers. This curriculum might have been modified at any time. The Government is therefore identified with what exists. The present level of popular instruction has been the result of its administration. The work is confessedly incomplete, but for its condition in this stage of progress, the Committee of Council is primarily, in all respects, responsible. It has, however, contributed only one-third of the cost. The £4,800,000. expended by the Government, have been met by double that

The principle of restraint so ordered as to proceed *par passu* with the growth of local resources, is the only alternative to the scheme of lowest kind of education for the poor.

Government invented and responsible for existing system.

Government caused an outlay of nearly 15 millions by expending 5 millions on the creation of this system.

sum raised locally. The total outlay in building, enlarging, and improving 27 training colleges has been £334,981., of which £101,641. were derived from the Government, and £223,339. from other sources. Yet the State, as the contributor of only one-third, arrogates to itself the right to say that all that is done is wrong, though the Education Societies, the Diocesan and Archidiaconal Boards of Education,—the committees and principals of training colleges, cling to the principles of the existing system, and to the great majority of its details. Especially, when the State has thus invented and stimulated a system which has cost its promoters £9,600,000., by an outlay of one-half of that amount of public money, it has incurred obligations to those who have expended nearly ten millions, in the confidence that the Executive was not a mere abstraction, but a power capable of contracting moral obligations. The character of a system of public education thus created, ought not to be abruptly and harshly changed by the fiat of a Minister, without the consent of the great controlling bodies and communions who have expended twice as much as the State. Even were Parliament to make such a change, it would be a national dishonour. It would be an act of repudiation ever to be remembered with shame. But not only would such an abrupt change be disgraceful, it would be short-sighted statesmanship; it would be a present saving, with the certainty of an ultimate disastrous loss. Otherwise, all those who have depended on the growth of Christian civilisation for the diminution of pauperism and crime have been dreamers. The protection of the public peace from tumult—of private property from depredation,—the detection, pursuit, trial, and punishment of crime,—cost the nation £9,000,000. annually, without taking into account the loss of wealth by robbers, incendiaries, and rioters. Pauperism, which is the hereditary consequence of generations of ignorance, superstition, and the slow and partial emancipation of the people from a previous state of serfdom, cost £6,000,000. annually. This relief of indigence is simply

of
eally
been
depen-
the good
the State.

overthrow
stem thus
eated without
ne consent and
against the will of
those who have
pent nearly ten
illions, would be
an unjustifiable
act of repudiation.
The change also
ould be an act
of short-sighted
statesmanship.
Cost of crime.

Cost of
pauperism.

measure of police. The life of the indigent is protected, as at the very foundation of laws for the protection of property and the public peace. The alternative would be a vast increase of vagabondage, crime, and tumult.

But this system of police for the restraint of crime and pauperism, has little or nothing in it that tends to cure those disorders. All curative agencies are of a totally different character. They are purely moral agencies. Their operation is gradual; it is felt only in a generation of men, or in successive generations. Such agencies appeal to the faith of great statesmen, who are alone capable of guiding nations. A statesman who foresees the necessity of providing for a great though remote danger, threatening the independence of his country, trains the population to arms; inspires them with a martial spirit; year by year strengthens citadels and erects batteries on the coasts; accumulates the munitions of war; and creates a great navy. The arsenals and dock yards, the citadels and forts, after years of preparation, contain a vast accumulation of the means of national defence. The nation, too, is armed, disciplined, and filled with a patriotic spirit. That conception of the necessity of thus meeting a great emergency is the result of the experience which history records. In like manner; a confidence in the efficacy of moral agencies in the diminution of crime and pauperism, results from a careful study of the history of the emancipation of the humblest classes of any European nation from serfdom, helotry, and villenage. The primary agent in this has been Christianity, which has taught the moral equality of all men in the eye of God. This idea, notwithstanding inferiorities of race, renders the slavery of accountable human beings ultimately impossible in Christian nations. It is equally impossible that responsible moral agents should be allowed to be the victims of mere animal instinct,—of ignorance,—of the want of moral and religious and mental culture,—in any Christian people. Crime and pauperism are—in the degree in which they now exist—the heir-looms of the state of serfdom. They

Police of crime and relief of indigence not curative agency

Curative agencies have a moral character.

They operate gradually.

Other national exigencies require foresight and preparation.

Confidence in moral agencies derived from history.

Influence of Christianity on slavery and serfdom.

Short-sighted
policy of niggardly
supplies to
national
education.

Strength of
national
confidence in
education of the
people.

How education
helps the solution
of the
representation of
the working
classes.

are the signs of the partial nature of the emancipation of the people from a brutish condition in which they were used like more intelligent beasts of burthen. But that statesman who refuses to make an immediate outlay on the religious education of the people, in order to humanise their manners, correct their habits, increase their intelligence, and raise their moral condition, or prefers to cripple such an outlay for the sake of some immediate paltry economy, is not only snortsighted, but he must in his heart disbelieve the efficacy of moral and religious agencies as antidotes to pauperism and crime.

The force of the confidence in these agencies which exists in the nation, may be measured by the fact that the Education grant is the only part of the fund derived from national taxation which, by its expenditure, now produces a voluntary contribution twice as great, and which by a gradual change, extending over fifteen years, may be made to produce from local sources, contributions thrice as large as the public grant. Would a Chancellor of the Exchequer be farsighted who should put this result in peril, if not render it impossible, by an abrupt and harsh change?

Recently proposals have been submitted to successive Parliaments for a reduction of the county franchise to a rating occupation of £10., and the borough franchise to one of £6. Nothing tended to defeat these measures so much as the alarm excited in the middle classes by the proceedings of the trades unions. These combinations often attempted to regulate labour so as to interfere with the freedom of workmen; and dictated to capital so as to usurp the authority necessary to successful enterprise. The domination of the unions was generally without the violence and vindictiveness of former times. But it was arbitrary—was often directed to objects so mischievous or impracticable, as to inspire a deep-seated aversion to the extension of the franchise by the reduction of the property qualification. That proposal for including a larger number of the most intelligent and morally deserving portion of the

working classes within the pale of the constitution is indefinitely postponed. But all parties agreed in the importance of devising the means of sifting out the best representatives of the classes supported by manual labour from the mass, and conferring the franchise on them. The effect of a steady perseverance in a system of national education, such as is at present in operation, would be to raise such men within the pale of the constitution. The 23,000 teachers and pupil-teachers will certainly all possess the franchise. They are nearly all children of parents supported by manual labour, or of persons not possessing the franchise. Their elevation is a type of the true and certain influence of the same kind of training on the mass. The fifty-eight millions annually expended on beer, spirits, and tobacco will be reduced. The money thus saved will be devoted to the rent of more comfortable houses, to better household management, to the education of the children. A better-housed population will soon have many heads of families within the pale of the present franchise.

The 23,000 teachers and pupil-teachers will all obtain franchise.

Elevation of mental and moral condition of pupil-teachers true type of the results of the present system

To give the people a worse education from motives of short-sighted economy, would be, in these respects, utterly inconsistent with all preceding national policy. The idea that an ignorant, brutish people is either more subordinate or more easily controlled than a people loyal by conviction and contented from experience and reason, is exploded. The notion that the mass of the people are the sources of national wealth merely as beasts of burthen,—that the nation has no interest in their intelligence, inventive capacity, morality, and fitness for the duties of freemen and citizens,—is a doctrine which would find no advocates. No Chancellor of the Exchequer would dare to avow that their sensuality was a prolific source of revenue which he could not afford to check. Why, then, is Education to be discouraged by regulations which cut off all aid to children under seven and after eleven years of age? Why are the annual grants to be reduced two-fifths at one blow? Why are the stipends, training, and qualifications of schoolmasters to be lowered? Why is instruction in the

To give a worse education to the people because costs less, is contrary to national policy

Why are the instructions to Church inspectors of August, 1840, as to religious examination, to be made nugatory?

Prospects for founding evening schools and extending education in small rural parishes, and in apathetic districts, under the Code, both frustrated by the details.

Evening schools.

Apathetic districts.

Small rural schools.

school to be mainly concentrated on the three lower elements? If these scholars are in preparation for confirmation in the church, why are the following instructions to inspectors, of August, 1840, to be rendered practically nugatory by the individual examination of scholars in the lower elements imposed by the Revised Code, viz.,—"That no plan of education ought to be encouraged in which intellectual instruction is not subordinate to the regulation of the thoughts and habits of the children by the doctrines and precepts of revealed religion"? Why is this formidable, if not insurmountable, impediment placed in the way of the order that "in the case of schools connected with the national church, *the inspectors will inquire with special care how far the doctrines and principles of the church are instilled into the minds of the children*"?

3. One of the pleas for the Revised Code is, that it was necessary to reduce the annual grants to inspected schools and training colleges, in order to provide for the establishment of evening schools, and for the extension of education in the apathetic districts.

But the plan proposed for both of these objects in the Revised Code is impracticable, or nugatory in some of its essential features.

For example, as to evening schools: the master could not teach in them without the ruin of his health and the neglect of his pupil teachers; for to mix them with these rude evening scholars, struggling with the lowest elements, is an utterly indefensible proposal. The proposed payments to the evening schools are not such as to be a motive for exertion to establish them. The Code therefore provides no available machinery for evening schools, and no motive for founding them.

As to the apathetic districts, there are only two provisions in the Code which seem to afford them any practical aid; they are—the creation of the fourth-class certificate, and the permission to pupil teachers who have successfully completed their apprenticeship, to serve as teachers in small rural schools

until their twenty-fifth year.* But these arrangements would be frustrated by the want of resources in such schools under the Revised Code. They are, as will be seen by a reference to Appendix A, exactly the schools in which the capitation grant of the Code would be often the least productive.

Much experience has been accumulated as to the organisation of evening schools, which is quite without influence on the regulations of the Code. The employment of raw apprentices—youths of only 19—in sole charge of rural schools, is open to the gravest objections.

I shall not venture now to enter further on the plan of administration to be adopted on these two important questions, but I have no doubt whatever that an effectual impulse might be given to the general introduction of good evening schools, and that the present system might be extended into the smallest rural parishes, and the most apathetic districts, without any considerable temporary increase of the Parliamentary grant.

* 118. Pupil teachers who fulfil the conditions of Article 84, may, upon special recommendation by the inspector, and upon consideration of their last examination papers, be provisionally certified in the lower grade of the fourth division for immediate service in charge of small rural schools, but after the holder's 25th year of age (completed) such provisional certificates must have been exchanged for permanent certificates (Article 60), or are *ipso facto* cancelled.

119. Rural schools, in order to fall under Article 118, must not contain more than 1,200 square feet of superficial area in the whole of the school-rooms and class-rooms, or they must be certified as not needing nor likely to be attended by more than 100 scholars.

Pupil teachers who have successfully completed their apprenticeship.

84. At the close of the apprenticeship pupil teachers are perfectly free in the choice of employment. Any person properly interested in knowing the character of a pupil teacher may apply to the Committee of Council for a testimonial, declaring that the pupil teacher has successfully completed an apprenticeship; or the pupil teacher, if willing to continue in the work of education, may become an assistant in an elementary school (Article 85), or may become a Queen's scholar in a normal school (Articles 92-107), or may be provisionally certified for immediate service in charge of small rural schools (Articles 118, 119).

The public grant never need exceed one million or £1,200,000., and in fifteen years may be reduced to £750,000., educating then more than two millions of scholars.

Then two millions and a quarter would be raised by local voluntary contributions, of which £1,125,000. would be in school pence.

This result might be attained with certainty in fifteen years.

I have already quoted the passage in which I deliberately stated my conviction that the public grant, under a wise and provident restraint, would at no time exceed £1,000,000. or £1,200,000., and that above two millions of scholars might, in fifteen years, be well taught and trained in inspected schools, under certificated teachers, *at an expense to the State then reduced to £750,000. per annum.*

Can Parliament refuse this outlay, when it would represent three millions of annual expenditure, of which two millions and a quarter would be derived from local voluntary resources, and at least £1,125,000. from the school pence paid by the parents of the scholars? I should feel the utmost confidence that the coöperation of the education societies representing the Church and the religious communions would be given to produce this result. Under a wise, faithful, and sympathising administration, strenuously striving with the education societies to attain it, there would be the utmost moral certainty of its accomplishment.

It is impossible in this Letter to submit to your Lordship observations on numerous matters of detail, which would only encumber and obscure the drift of the general observations which I have felt it my duty to lay before you. But I hope your Lordship will give me credit for not having overlooked them, though I have found it impossible even to allude to them in this argument.

I have the honour to be,

MY LORD,

Your obedient Servant,

JAMES P. KAY SHUTTLEWORTH.

*The Earl GRANVILLE, K.G., President of
the Council and of the Committee of the
Privy Council on Education.*

APPENDIX A.

The inequalities in the operation of the capitation grant scheme in the Revised Code exhibited in different districts.

Rev. John Menet, Chaplain of the Hockerill Training School, Bishop's Stortford, in a letter to the Guardian, dated October 21st, 1861, gives the following results of his inquiries:—

1. "That infant-schools could not in the great majority of cases be kept open.
2. That new schools and schools in shifting populations would suffer enormously.
3. That boys' schools in particular parts of towns would suffer the least, and that some might gain more than they receive now.
4. That the largest grants would be earned where they are least needed, and that therefore the assistance given would be in inverse proportion to the need."

No.	Last annual grant under Old Code.	Estimated grant under New Code.
1. Boys' school in very shifting London population	£133	£97
5. Boys' school in a manufacturing town	96	48
11. Boys' school in a shifting London population	132	76
7. Boys' school long established, and including farmers' and middle-class children.....	38	39
14. Boys' school, with very close approximation to H.M.I. standard	28	11
17. Girls' school, (ditto as to standard)	58	22
20. Girls' school in a large town (ditto as to standard)	134	38
5. Mixed under a mistress, scattered country population....	30	13
2. Infant-school, very successful (average attendance, 150) ..	80	21
9. Infant-school, established a year, in a very low town } population	61	8
8. Infant-school, London population	97	15

The returns which have been furnished to me by school managers, teachers, and others, give the following results:—

	Rate of loss in annual grants under Revised Code.
Schools with semi-barbarous, migrant population in manufacturing districts—Villages.....	From 2-5ths to 3-5ths.
Towns	
Schools in dense and corrupt parts of old cities and large towns	From 2-5ths to 2-3rds.
Schools in pauperised rural districts, where the children are employed in numerous harvests, &c.	From 2-5ths to 2-3rds.
Schools on wild moorland, with scattered population ..	From 2 5ths to 2-3rds.
Schools closely connected with a wealthy congregation in long settled and prosperous parts of a town	The whole previous grant would be obtained, or only one-fifth loss suffered.
Schools of a settled, well-employed rural population, in which the influence of the proprietors and tenantry are beneficially exercised	One-fifth loss.
Schools in rural parishes, intermediate between those with wealthy and vigilant patrons, and schools in pauperised and apathetic districts	From 1-4th to 1-3rd loss.
Schools in rural parishes with bad roads—a scattered population—non-resident proprietors—tenantry indifferent, much harvest work—and ill-endowed benefice for clergyman	Will either be closed, or will become "Adventure Schools."

